

Seton Hall University

eRepository @ Seton Hall

Seton Hall University Dissertations and Theses
(ETDs)

Seton Hall University Dissertations and Theses

Spring 5-18-2020


Exploring Intergenerational Influences on Racial-Ethnic Socialization of East Asian American Mothers: A Phenomenological Approach

Jiwon Yoo

jiwon.yoo@student.shu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarship.shu.edu/dissertations>



 Part of the [Child Psychology Commons](#), [Counseling Psychology Commons](#), and the [Multicultural Psychology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Yoo, Jiwon, "Exploring Intergenerational Influences on Racial-Ethnic Socialization of East Asian American Mothers: A Phenomenological Approach" (2020). *Seton Hall University Dissertations and Theses (ETDs)*. 2734.

<https://scholarship.shu.edu/dissertations/2734>

EXPLORING INTERGENERATIONAL INFLUENCES ON RACIAL-ETHNIC
SOCIALIZATION OF EAST ASIAN AMERICAN MOTHERS:
A PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH

BY

JIWON YOO

Dissertation Committee:

Minsun Lee, Ph.D.
Jason D. Reynolds (Taewon Choi), Ph.D.
Corinne Datchi, Ph.D.
Noelany Pelc, Ph.D.

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
The Department of Professional Psychology and Family Therapy

Seton Hall University
May 2020

© 2020 Jiwon Yoo

Abstract

Racial-ethnic socialization within Asian American families involves intergenerational transmission of racial and cultural messages and practices, which reflects their unique perspectives and experiences as racial/ethnic minority individuals and families in a racialized society. This qualitative study examines six second-generation East Asian American mothers who are raising children aged five to eight, with the goal of exploring intergenerational influences on their racial-ethnic socialization experiences. Using a set of two interviews, the results show how childhood experiences of immigration, racism, and racial-ethnic socialization shaped parents' perceptions and experiences of racial-ethnic socialization practices with their children. Particularly, the study presents how parents' experience of communication and non-communication about race during childhood influenced their ambivalent attitude about race-related communication with their children. The results also indicate challenges of second-generation mothers in their racial-ethnic socialization practices with their own experiences of identity struggles and conflict with their parents. The findings highlight unique aspects of how second-generation Asian American mothers understand and navigate the familial and societal dynamics that underlie their racial-ethnic socialization practices.

Keywords: racial-ethnic socialization, second-generation parenting, Asian American, intergenerational influence

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my dissertation advisor and mentor, Dr. Minsun Lee, for her knowledge, guidance, and patience throughout the dissertation process. Thank you, Dr. Lee, for encouraging me to find my own voice in research and believing in me even at times when I did not believe in myself. Your mentorship has profoundly shaped my personal and professional growth. I would also like to extend gratitude to my committee members, Drs. Jason D. Reynolds (Taewon Choi), Corinne Datchi, and Noelany Pelc, for their insight, time, encouragement, and constructive feedback throughout the dissertation process.

Also, I would like to thank my friends and family both near and far, who showered me with love and support during my years in graduate school. A special thank you to my cohort, Beyza, Amanda, Christina, Vanessa, and Ian, for going through the ups and downs together. To my parents who have instilled within me a true love for learning, thank you for always encouraging me to go beyond what I imagined possible. I am forever grateful for my husband's unwavering support. Joon, you have truly been my life partner, holding my hand throughout the years and cheering me on as I completed each hurdle in this journey. I could not have finished my degree or this dissertation without you. I am also thankful for my son who has given me the courage and motivation to pursue my passion. Thank you, Laon, for teaching me how to find joy in every moment of life. I feel so blessed to be your umma.

Table of Contents

Notice of Copyright.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
List of Tables.....	ix
Chapter 1.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Statement of the Problem.....	2
Purpose of the Study.....	7
Research Question.....	9
Definitions of Constructs.....	9
Significance of the Study.....	10
Chapter 2.....	12
Theoretical Framework.....	12
Family Systems.....	12
Critical Race Theory.....	18
Review of Literature.....	20
Racial Experiences of Asian Americans.....	20
Family Experiences of Racial Discrimination.....	25
Racial-Ethnic Socialization.....	27
Colorblind Ideology.....	30
Summary.....	32
Chapter 3.....	33

Method.....	33
Research Design.....	33
Participants.....	34
Individual Interviews.....	37
Procedure.....	38
Qualitative Analysis.....	39
Validity.....	40
Researcher Reflexivity.....	42
Chapter 4.....	45
Results	45
Asian American Experience of Race and Ethnicity.....	46
Racial and Ethnic Salience.....	46
Racism.....	47
Minimization of Race.....	48
Racial Ethnic Socialization Experiences as a Child.....	49
Ethnic Socialization.....	50
Lack of Communication about Race.....	51
Promotion of Mistrust.....	51
Unspoken Conflict.....	53
Ethnic Socialization Experiences as a Parent.....	53
Verbal Ethnic Socialization.....	54
Non-verbal Ethnic Socialization	55
Intergenerational Family Support.....	56

Racial Socialization Experiences as a Parent.....	57
Education about Race.....	57
Preparation for Racial Bias.....	59
Promotion of Diversity and Inclusion.....	60
Intersectionality.....	60
Ambivalence about Racial Socialization.....	61
Value of Racial Socialization.....	62
Negative Perceptions about Racial Socialization.....	62
Political Correctness.....	64
Second Generation Experience.....	65
Impact of Immigration.....	65
Lack of Knowledge about Ethnic Culture.....	67
Struggle with Ethnic Identity.....	68
Struggle with Bicultural Identity.....	68
Interview Process.....	69
Fear and Discomfort.....	70
Post-Interview Growth.....	70
Chapter 5.....	72
Discussion.....	72
Overview of the Results.....	73
Implications for Theory and Practice.....	80
Limitations of the Study.....	83
Directions for Future Research.....	85

References.....	87
Appendix A. Letter of Solicitation.....	101
Appendix B. Informed Consent.....	103
Appendix C. Pre-Interview Questionnaire.....	105
Appendix D. Email Script to Ineligible Participants.....	106
Appendix E. Demographic Profile Questionnaire.....	107
Appendix F. Semi-Structured Individual Interview Protocol (Initial Interview)	110
Appendix G. Follow-up Interview Protocol.....	112
Appendix H. IRB Approval Letter.....	113

List of Tables

Table1. Participant Characteristics.....	35
Table 2. Themes and Subthemes.....	45

Exploring Intergenerational Influences on Racial-Ethnic Socialization
of East Asian American Mothers: A Phenomenological Approach

Chapter 1

Introduction

In addition to the responsibilities common to all parents, parents of color assume the responsibility of the racial-ethnic socialization of their children, i.e., preparing their children to cope with potential negative encounters based on race and ethnicity, and foster healthy racial and ethnic identity exploration and commitment (Brody et al., 2006; Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; Hughes, 2003; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). As greater opportunities arise for children of color to interact with the multicultural world outside of their families, parents' socialization regarding race and culture plays a significant role in educating their children about how to negotiate various contexts characterized by racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity (Hughes et al., 2006). According to Hughes and Chen (1997), racial-ethnic socialization involves the transmission of messages that (a) teach children about the history, culture, and heritage associated with their race and ethnicity (cultural socialization), (b) promote their awareness of racial discrimination, prejudice, and potential barriers (preparation for bias), and (c) emphasize the need for caution in interracial interactions, specifically with members of the dominant group (promotion of mistrust).

To date, numerous studies have elucidated the positive influence of racial-ethnic socialization practices in families of color. Previous literature on racial-ethnic socialization indicated its effects on the development of children's positive racial-ethnic attitudes (Sinclair, Dunn, & Lowerey, 2005), healthy ethnic identity (Hughes et al., 2006), positive mental health

and behavioral outcomes (Caughy, O'campo, & Muntaner, 2004), and higher academic achievement (Neblett, Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006). These results have directly refuted a prevalent concern of parents of color, that talking about race with their children only has negative effects on children of color, such as causing them to become hypersensitive toward and distressed about race-related issues.

Statement of the Problem

Although extant research has illuminated the positive impact of racial-ethnic socialization, there is a scarcity of research investigating the racial-ethnic socialization practices among different racial and ethnic minority groups and thereby, delving into the culture-specific nature of racial-ethnic socialization practices. A study that investigated parental racial-ethnic socialization of three racial/ethnic minority groups, i.e., Japanese American, African American, and Mexican American, found that Japanese American and African American parents emphasized adaptation to society more than Mexican American parents (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). This study also reported that African American parents tended to discuss racial prejudice more with their children, compared to other racial groups (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). These differences among parental socialization practices can be understood in terms of the systemic influences within each group, as society holds different attitudes towards each racial and ethnic group. Moreover, results of another study about three different ethnic groups, i.e. adolescents of Mexican, Chinese, and European backgrounds, indicated that Chinese adolescents reported receiving more messages from their parents that promoted mistrust of people from other ethnic groups compared to their peers with European backgrounds (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008). In addition, Huynh and Fuligni (2008) found that adolescents from both Mexican and Chinese backgrounds reported greater cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages than their

peers from European backgrounds. The research of Hughes et al. (2006) demonstrated a similar result to Huynh and Fuligni's (2008) research regarding Asian families' cultural socialization. That is, Asian parents were more likely to report cultural socialization (e.g., promoting cultural pride and knowledge) and less likely to report racial socialization (e.g., talking about race and racial discrimination) compared to African American parents, although Asian-origin parents did practice racial socialization (Hughes et al., 2006). A greater focus on cultural versus racial socialization may be due to the relatively short history of Asian American immigration in the United States and Asian American parents' strong value of preserving cultural heritage. Additionally, Asian parents may feel uncomfortable going against the ideology of colorblindness to engage in conversations about race and racial discrimination because such conversations involve an acknowledgment of oppression and disadvantages as a minority.

The aforementioned studies highlight group differences regarding parental racial-ethnic socialization practices, suggesting that further examination of various racial/ethnic groups' differential experiences of racial-ethnic socialization is warranted. In addition, studies should provide a wealth of information about the unique cultural and social factors that influence the family dynamics of each racial group, which may, in turn, influence their racial-ethnic socialization practices. Families of color are different in various ways, including their history and culture; therefore, the role of cultural values, minority status, racial identity, and various systemic concerns should be taken into consideration when studying their racial-ethnic socialization practices (Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

Moreover, most of the literature on parental racial-ethnic socialization practices has focused on African American families (e.g., Crouter, Baril, Davis, & McHale, 2008; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Marshall, 1995; Neblett et al., 2006; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009), while only a

few studies have attended to the experiences of Asian Americans. As members of a minority group in the United States, Asian Americans have experienced a long history of discrimination based on race and ethnicity (Hwang & Goto, 2009). Yet, despite the prevalence of racism and racial discrimination toward Asian Americans, Asian Americans have been excluded from the critical discourse on race and race-related social problems, due to the common misconception of Asian Americans as the model minority. The myth of the model minority portrays Asian Americans as hardworking and intelligent, overcoming racial conflicts and discrimination to achieve a higher degree of socioeconomic success than other racial groups (Gee, Ro, Shariff-Marco, & Chae, 2009; Miller, Yang, Farrell, & Lin, 2011; Wong & Halgin, 2006). As a result, Asian Americans' challenges and struggles in resolving race-related difficulties, as well as their parental socialization efforts regarding race and ethnicity, remain unrecognized and understudied.

Given the paucity of research on Asian American racial socialization, rigorous research is needed to investigate the unique roles and various facets of racial-ethnic socialization in Asian American families (Tran & Lee, 2010). However, Asian Americans are a broad and heterogeneous group, encompassing a variety of racial experiences of people from diverse backgrounds. For example, the racial experience of a Japanese American as an Asian American may be vastly different from that of a Filipino American, due to the differences in phenotypic traits, ethnic cultures, and stereotypes endorsed by the dominant society. A number of previous studies on the racial experiences of Asian Americans have not distinguished the differential race-related experiences of East Asian, Southeast Asian, and South Asian subgroups.

Additionally, it is essential to examine the familial transmission of cultural values, racial experiences, and patterns of racial-ethnic socialization practices when studying racial and ethnic

minority families. For example, culture plays a significant role in families of East Asian origin and the interdependent and collectivistic nature of East Asian culture highly influences their racial-ethnic socialization practices (Benner & Kim, 2009). In addition, parents play a central role in providing their children with information about racial status, racial discrimination, cultural values and traditions within East Asian American families (Hughes et al., 2006). Studies should focus on a distinctive cultural group within the Asian American category to delineate the idiographic experiences of Asian Americans in relation to their race and culture and to examine various sociocultural factors that may influence their racial-ethnic socialization practices within the family system.

Moreover, due to the changing demographic trends in the United States and growing societal and familial level interests in resolving intergenerational dissonance related to racial and cultural differences, it has become essential to acknowledge the similarities and differences among the racial experiences of first-generation Asian immigrants and those of second or later generations. To date, there has been a dearth of research that has attended to the generational differences and intergenerational influence of Asian American parents' racial experiences and racial-ethnic socialization practices.

A study of a multiracial group on the interactive effect of parents' prejudice and their children's identification with their parents indicated that parents' racial attitudes were significantly related to their children's implicit prejudice, especially when the children highly identified with their parents (Sinclair et al., 2005). Also, Demo and Hughes (1990) demonstrated in their study of Black Americans that active parental racial-ethnic socialization practices shape children's strong Black racial identity. The results of these studies demonstrate the parental transmission of racial experiences and the influence of racial-ethnic socialization on children's

racial attitude and identity. However, a limited amount of literature has focused on Asian American families.

Also, no previous research has paid close attention to the intergenerational patterns of racial-ethnic socialization practices within Asian American families. There is a need for research that examines the intergenerational transmission of cultural values and racial attitude through racial-ethnic socialization in order to better understand family dynamics regarding cultural and racial communication within Asian American families.

Additionally, studies should examine the types of messages parent and child exchange in their racial-ethnic socialization in order to understand the influence of racial-ethnic socialization in the family system. The messages that parents send to their children about race and ethnicity can be in various forms. For example, given the multidimensional nature of racial-ethnic socialization, parents' racial-ethnic socialization can be intentional and explicit—such as a mother verbally instructing her child about their own race and other races—or unintentional and happenstance—such as a child observing his parents looking disturbed when seeing an interracial couple in the neighborhood. Parents can communicate race-related values or beliefs without explicit conversations about race, regardless of parental awareness or understanding of their race-related communications; even a total absence of discussion about race within a family can potentially communicate certain values and beliefs about race. However, racial-ethnic socialization has been primarily conceptualized as the explicit verbal messages that family members exchange regarding race and ethnicity (Yasui, 2015). The psychological literature on racial-ethnic socialization, to date, has rarely addressed the unintentional and implicit messages communicated by parents of racial minorities, which may significantly influence children's thoughts about race and ethnicity, as well as about living in a multiracial society.

A review of the 41 measures of racial-ethnic socialization among ethnic minority families demonstrated that existing measures are largely focused on explicit behaviors and verbal messages and that few measures have captured the affective, implicit, and nonverbal domains of the racial-ethnic socialization process (Yasui, 2015). It is critical to further investigate implicit racial-ethnic socialization messages, especially in a study of Asian American families, because Asian American families may prefer indirect and nonverbal communication methods (Park & Kim, 2008). Park and Kim (2008), for example, examined cultural values and communication styles among European American and Asian American college students, with 141 (67.14%) East Asian Americans in their Asian American sample. Their results indicated that Asian Americans used indirect communication more frequently and held a less open communication style than their European American counterparts, which was explained by Asian Americans' higher adherence to emotional self-control and Asian American cultural values (Park & Kim, 2008). Given these findings, it is imperative to contextualize the unique sociocultural factors that influence implicit, as well as explicit, racial-ethnic communication of East Asian American families.

Purpose of the Study

The present study sought to fill the gap in the literature by qualitatively examining East Asian American mothers' experiences of racial-ethnic socialization in their families. Because Asian Americans are a heterogeneous group, with great within-group variability among cultural practices, this study sought to focus on East Asian American families' racial-ethnic socialization practices to understand in depth the experiences of a more homogeneous group. An in-depth examination of East Asian American mothers' racial-ethnic socialization is expected to provide a better understanding of various sociocultural factors that may influence both implicit and explicit

racial-ethnic socialization practices of East Asian American families. The study was particularly interested in investigating parents' thoughts about their intergenerational racial-ethnic socialization experiences by asking about the intergenerational differences of East Asian American parents' racial-ethnic socialization practices, as well as the potential influence of the previous generation on current racial-ethnic socialization practices of East Asian American families.

The present study used phenomenological qualitative research methods within the framework of family systems epistemology (Stanton, 2009) and critical race theory (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002), using interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA; Smith & Osborn, 2008). A review of the extant research on racial-ethnic socialization has indicated that there is a plethora of quantitative studies on the current topic. Within quantitative studies on racial-ethnic socialization, numerous versions of assessment tools have been used, incorporating varying definitions of racial-ethnic socialization among diverse racial and ethnic groups to find generalizable results about racial-ethnic socialization practices (Yasui, 2015). However, quantitative analysis alone does not provide insight about what influences individual families' unique experiences of parental racial-ethnic socialization and what aspects of such practice are salient in the lives of East Asian American families. Using a qualitative approach within a constructivist-interpretivist paradigm, this study aimed to further explore unique sociocultural factors that influence the racial-ethnic socialization of East Asian American families by giving voice to East Asian American parents and offering them the opportunity to reflect on the phenomenon of racial-ethnic socialization based on their own perspectives and lived experiences. A phenomenological study is suitable for this research in that sense, because it allows a detailed examination of participants' perception, reflection, and emotion around their racial-ethnic

socialization experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2008). It was anticipated that the phenomenological approach situated within a constructivist-interpretivist paradigm would provide in-depth understanding of the racial-ethnic socialization practices of East Asian American families, with an understanding that racial-ethnic socialization is constructed by participants' various social environments (Ponterotto, 2005).

Research Questions

The following four primary research questions guided the present study:

1. How did East Asian American parents of young children experience the racial-ethnic socialization practices of their parents?
2. How do East Asian American parents of young children experience their own racial-ethnic socialization practices with their child(ren)?
3. What are some internal and external influences on the implicit and explicit racial-ethnic socialization practices of East Asian American parents of young children?
4. How do East Asian American parents of young children communicate racial-ethnic socialization messages with their child(ren), as compared to their understanding of their own parents' communication with them about race and ethnicity?

Definitions of Constructs

Racial socialization has been defined as “verbal and behavioral messages transmitted to younger generations for the development of values, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs regarding the meaning and significance of race and racial stratification” (Scottham & Smalls, 2009, p. 807). In the present study, integrating definitions from previous research, *racial-ethnic socialization* was defined to incorporate: (a) all affirming or devaluing messages that parents communicate with their child(ren) about their own and others' race and ethnicity (e.g., racial or

ethnic pride, racial discrimination, and prejudice); (b) intentional and unintentional exposure to racial and/or racist imagery or conversation; (c) teaching of their own or others' racial and ethnic values, customs, beliefs about the racialized world; and (d) responses to and silences about race-related experiences.

Significance of the Study

Asian Americans in the United States are the fastest growing population, and it is projected that their numbers will reach nearly 10% of the U.S. population by 2050 (Choi, 2014). However, there has been limited research examining the experiences of Asian Americans, and a paucity of research attending to the race-related experiences of Asian Americans. Asian Americans in the United States have had unique racial experiences, due to particular stereotypes (i.e., model minority myth) and societal expectations imposed on them. Because of this, studies should draw attention to their racial experiences, focusing on the unique set of sociocultural factors that may play a role. This study sought to target Asian Americans of East Asian descent (i.e., China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan), and their shared experiences of racial prejudice and stereotypes under the dominant society's broader classification of "Asian Americans." Although there is much variation among the different ethnic groups within the East Asian American group, they adhere to shared Asian cultural values shaped by their Confucian heritage, such as familial interdependence and collectivistic ideals (Benner & Kim, 2009). These cultural values emphasize interpersonal harmony in parent-child relationships, providing a rich, contextual understanding of their intergenerational interactions within the family system. Focusing on a distinctive group that shares a number of cultural elements allowed further exploration of the influence of race and culture in familial socialization practices.

Additionally, it is essential to learn about the intergenerational transmission of racial experiences within the East Asian American family system. Racial-ethnic socialization involves intergenerational transmission of racial and cultural messages and practices. These messages and practices are interpreted through the parents' and children's own lenses of experience as first-generation and second-generation Asian Americans. Thus, in-depth investigation of the process of racial-ethnic socialization may provide comprehensive insight into how the differences in racial experiences (e.g., recognition and understanding of racial experiences, racial identity construction, and acculturation process) shed light on the complex nature of familial interactions about race and culture. By providing such a focus, this study filled a gap in the literature, leading to a better theoretical, contextual understanding of East Asian American families' racial-ethnic socialization practices.

Chapter 2

In this chapter, I provide an overview of my two overarching theoretical frameworks, namely, a family systems perspective and critical race theory. Next, I review the literature on the race-related experiences (e.g., racial discrimination) of Asian American individuals and their families in the United States. Here, I include studies that focus on the general Asian American population, in addition to studies that target individuals of East Asian origin, given the paucity of research that specifically targets East Asian Americans' racial-ethnic socialization. Additionally, the literature on Asian American families' racial-ethnic socialization will be reviewed, with a specific emphasis on implicit and explicit modes of racial-ethnic socialization practiced by Asian American parents. Finally, the literature on colorblind ideology will be reviewed.

Theoretical Framework

Family Systems

This study employed a family systems perspective in understanding Asian American families' intergenerational transmission of race-related messages. Family systems theory considers individuals as an integral part of the system within the interpersonal (i.e., parent-child relations, familial support) and macrosystemic (i.e., racial/ethnic culture, power dynamics, social hierarchies) contexts (Stanton, 2009; McGoldrick, Gerson, & Petry, 2008). Individual factors, such as one's feelings, thoughts, and actions, are not isolated factors; rather, they reflect interactions among various components of the system. A family systems perspective brings all three domains together, i.e., individual, interpersonal, and macrosystemic factors, emphasizing their reciprocal interactions in order to conceptualize the complexity of individuals' real-life experiences.

According to Stanton (2009), systemic thinking employs six key concepts: (a) complexity, (b) reciprocity, (c) living open systems theory, (d) self-organization, (e) adaptation, and (f) social constructivism and cognition. Although distinct concepts, these six concepts are also intricately interconnected.

Complexity involves understanding of the intricacy of human interactions within the system, which negate simplistic and rigid thinking (Stanton, 2009). Rooted in Chaos theory, the interaction of various individual, interpersonal, and macrosystemic factors leads to unexpected and unpredictable changes in one part of the system, which subsequently impact all other parts of the system (Stanton, 2009; Stanton & Welsh, 2011).

Reciprocity refers to the “mutual, interactive, non-sequential effects that occur between persons or circumstances” (Stanton, 2009, p.15). According to systemic epistemology, linear “cause and effect” thinking does not capture the simultaneous and mutually interdependent nature of the interactions among multiple factors that influence and are influenced by one another (Stanton, 2009) (e.g., mother and child influencing each other concomitantly in their conversation about race as they respond to one another). Stanton and Welsh (2011) noted that reciprocity does not necessarily mean an equal contribution in interactions, as these can vary due to power dynamics that modulate the relative influence (e.g., parent vs. child, culturally dominant group vs. cultural minority group).

Next, the idea of living open systems places emphasis on a continuous exchange of resources (e.g., ideas, energy, and information) within the system in order to survive (Stanton, 2009). Family systems theory posits that systems are not closed and limited, allowing individuals to reach out to create a new route of interactions within the systems to support themselves and others.

Self-organization refers to the constant reorganization of the pattern of systems at individual, interpersonal, and macrosystemic levels, reflecting the changes in behaviors and structures in interactions (Stanton, 2009). Self-organization may happen constantly, especially when racial minority parents try to understand their own racial experiences and help their children understand the dynamics of the racialized society through racial-ethnic socialization.

Adaptation allows individuals, interactions, and systems to be resilient and adaptable to situational changes (Stanton, 2009). For example, racial minority parents who have experienced and acknowledged racism in the society may decide to actively prepare their children for healthy coping in response to potential racial discrimination.

Lastly, social constructivism and cognition refer to the idea that all humans are active participants in their own life in their interaction with their environments (Stanton, 2009). With the aforementioned six key concepts, family systems theory provides a holistic way to explore the dynamic nature of individual-environmental interactions, parent-child communication, and racial experiences of minority families in a racialized society.

One family systems phenomenon this study was interested in investigating was how familial experiences affect individual and family functioning in subsequent generations. A review of various family systems studies indicated that individuals' own experiences during childhood influence their childrearing practices and attitudes as parents (Van Ijzendoorn, 1992). Looking at the intergenerational transmission of parenting across three generations (i.e., grandparents, parents, and their children), Van Ijzendoorn's review of the literature reported that certain parenting behaviors and attitudes, such as interaction patterns and intrafamily attitudes, may be acquired from previous generations as a result of modeling, coaching, and other cognitive and psychological processes within the family system. Moreover, Almeida,

Wethington, and Chandler (1999) noted the intergenerational transmission of emotions within the family system on a day-to-day basis. Research data from 117 married couples showed that emotional conflict and tense interactions created within the marital dyad predicted subsequent parent-child emotional tensions. This result suggested that parents' emotions were intergenerationally transmitted to their children, which, in turn, affected children's relationship with their parents. This emotional transmission may affect East Asian American families in more powerful ways, given the unique, shared experiences of life challenges as immigrants and racial minorities.

Similar to the transmission of emotions within families, previous literature on families has investigated parent-child relations as a type of social interaction in which the family's sociocultural values are intergenerationally transmitted (Park, Kim, Chiang, & Ju, 2010; Yi, Chang, & Chang, 2004). Intergenerational transmission of cultural values is essential to studying East Asian American families, especially when examining parents' socialization practices with their children, because parents' cultural value orientation influences how parents interact with their children (Park et al., 2010). For Asian families, parenting practices are deeply rooted in values of collectivism, interdependence within the family, and filial piety (Park et al., 2010). Although parental influence may decline when children begin to spend increasing amounts of time with their peers (Steinberg & Morris, 2001), the values of collectivism and family interdependence emphasize continual ties between parents and their children (Benner & Kim, 2009). Additionally, for East Asian American families, the cultural value of filial piety reinforces family cohesion and interdependence between parents and children, encouraging the younger generation of people to respect their elders (Cheung, Lee, & Chan, 1994). Thus, East Asian culture emphasizes individuals' learning from their families. In addition, when it comes to

parental socialization regarding race, ethnicity, and culture, parent-child communication is a major source of information for children (Hughes et al., 2006). Children's self-concept, personality, and racial identity are heavily influenced by the extent to which they interact with their families (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Sinclair et al., 2005). Moreover, in times of stress, including stress associated with racial discrimination experiences, East Asian Americans, regardless of their generational status, are more likely to seek support from their family than from outside sources, due to East Asian families' collectivistic values and the concerns of intergroup harmony and losing face (Kim, Li, & Ng, 2005). As such, from an early age, parents play an integral and pervasive role that lasts throughout their children's lives.

For East Asian American families, intergenerational transmission of sociocultural values cannot be explained without examining the influence of immigration on families. In a typical immigrant family, two sets of cultural values (e.g., independence and interdependence), from the mainstream and ethnic cultures, coexist in the family system. Oftentimes children learn about mainstream cultural values by directly experiencing them in their interactions with others outside their family and ethnic culture. On the other hand, children from a very young age are likely to acquire their ethnic cultural values through their parents and relatives in a familial context. However, as school-aged children begin to spend more time outside the home, they may have fewer enculturation experiences compared to their acculturative interactions with the mainstream culture. This imbalance in cultural exposure and learning can create intergenerational family conflict due to different worldviews and interpretations of culture (Kwak, 2003).

Intergenerational cultural differences and differential rates of acculturation within the family system are what make the study of intergenerational transmission within East Asian families more complicated (Kwak, 2003). That is, intergenerational transmission of parenting

practices and attitudes, emotions, and cultural values may vary depending on each family's contextual factors. However, whether or not adult children carry over the exact same parenting behaviors and attitudes of their own parents, their socialization experiences with their parents cannot be ignored. Hence, a family systems perspective provides a framework to understand how the family system intergenerationally influences, if not replicates, individuals' childrearing practices, parenting values, and attitudes, considering the family's own unique contexts and the interplay among individual, interpersonal, and environmental factors.

In regard to familial influences of parenting practices, it is important to note that the intergenerational transmission of race-related messages may be bidirectional (Hughes et al., 2006; Nagata & Cheng, 2003). In a study of 444 Chinese American families, Benner and Kim (2009) examined the influence of parental experiences of racial discrimination on their children and found that racial-ethnic socialization messages were more common in the family when children experienced discrimination and talked about their experience with their parents. The results suggested that racial-ethnic socialization in the family system is triggered not only by parents' experiences of discrimination and their conscious choices to practice racial-ethnic socialization, but also by children's personal experiences of discrimination and their willingness to discuss their experiences with their parents. Additionally, parents' explicit and implicit socialization messages may or may not be interpreted the way parents originally intended, especially in ethnic minority or immigrant families, because parents and their children may or may not share similar role expectations in the home. Marshall (1995) compared African American parents' racial-ethnic socialization practices with their children's learning from their parents. The study indicated that children were more likely to state that their parents did not teach them anything about race and ethnicity, whereas parents were more likely to report that

they taught about potential racial barriers and physical differences (Marshall, 1995). The results depicted the complexity of parent-child communication about race and suggested that parents' struggle with racial-ethnic socialization practices may influence children's learning from and reactions about parental racial-ethnic socialization practices in the family system.

Critical Race Theory

In addition to a family systems perspective, critical race theory (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002) serves as a conceptual framework for this qualitative study. Critical race theory was generated by scholars of color in response to the White privilege and systemic racism following the civil rights movement (Howard-Hamilton, 2003). Matsuda (1991) viewed critical race theory as:

The work of progressive legal scholars of color who are attempting to develop a jurisprudence that accounts for the role of racism in American law and that work toward the elimination of racism as part of a larger goal of eliminating all forms of subordination. (p. 1331)

Solorzano and Yosso (2001) introduced five themes that form the basic perspectives of critical race theory in education: (a) the centrality of race and racism and its intersectionality with other forms of subordination, (b) the challenge to dominant ideology, (c) the commitment to social justice, (d) the centrality of experiential knowledge, and (e) the interdisciplinary perspective of critical race theory.

The first theme of critical race theory is the centrality of race and racism. Critical race theory acknowledges that race and race-related issues are permanently ingrained in our society. Therefore, we should discuss race and then move beyond discussions of race to talk about racism when defining and explaining individual experiences, especially those of racial and ethnic

minorities. Additionally, critical race scholars emphasize the intersectionality of race and race-related issues with other forms of subordination, such as gender and class discrimination (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001).

The second theme of critical race theory is challenging dominant ideologies, such as objectivity, meritocracy, colorblindness, and equal opportunity. According to critical race theorists, dominant ideologies systematically disadvantage people of color, further benefiting the dominant group (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Using critical race theory and qualitative research methods, this research will challenge the traditional ideologies regarding race and racism against Asian Americans, such as colorblindness and model minority stereotypes, by foregrounding race and racism in the research on racial ethnic socialization of East Asian Americans.

The third theme of critical race theory is the commitment to social justice in order to eliminate racism and other forms of oppression. Critical race scholars emphasize a conscious effort in our society to empower underrepresented minority groups (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Thus, the current study seeks to support East Asian Americans by giving voice to their race-related experiences, and how the racial-ethnic socialization practices used with their children have built understanding of their racial experiences as parents.

The fourth theme of critical race theory is the centrality of experiential knowledge of racial and ethnic minorities in understanding and analyzing race and racism in our society (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Critical race theory recognizes the legitimacy and critical nature of the experiential knowledge of people of color and encourages the use of methods such as storytelling, narratives, biographies, and family histories (Delgado, 1989). This framework offers researchers a way to understand the lived experiences of people of color and empower those who have been silenced and marginalized (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

The last theme of critical race theory mentioned by Solorzano and Yosso (2001) is the interdisciplinary perspective, utilizing the interdisciplinary knowledge from ethnic studies, women's studies, sociology, history, law, and other fields to better understand racism and other forms of oppression pervasive in our society. Incorporating knowledge from Asian American psychology and history, this study aims to further examine the racial-ethnic socialization experiences of East Asian American parents within a sociocultural and historical context, with a deeper understanding that various macrosystemic environments construct racial-ethnic socialization.

My overall goal in using critical race theory to frame this qualitative investigation of East Asian American parents' racial-ethnic socialization practices is to understand the role of race and racial discrimination in East Asian Americans' intergenerational family interactions centered on race, ethnicity, and culture. By using critical race theory as a conceptual framework, the current study centralized the influence of race and racial-ethnic socialization practices in understanding East Asian American families. Critical race theory informed this study's examination of how East Asian American family members influenced one another in their race-related experiences, by understanding that these experiences may be related to not only culture but also systemic discrimination.

Review of Literature

Racial Experiences of Asian Americans

Racism in the United States is commonly dichotomized as a "Black and White" issue. This dichotomy, however, obscures the oppressive experiences of Asian Americans, which have continued throughout their immigration history since the nineteenth century. Similar to immigrants from other continents, Asian immigrants were drawn to the United States by the

allure of employment opportunities and the chance to escape from challenging economical and political conditions in their homelands. However, Asians have faced discriminatory laws (e.g., the Chinese Exclusion Act and Asian Exclusion Act) that barred immigration from Asian countries (Ng, 1998). Also, over 110,000 Japanese Americans were subjected to forced internment during the Second World War (Sue, 1973).

In the present day, East Asian Americans continue to be targets of racism and oppression in the United States. There has been an increase in reports of physical violence, intimidation, threats, as well as microaggressions against Asian Americans (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2009). Additionally, a number of empirical studies have highlighted the deleterious effects of racism and racial discrimination on the physical and psychological health and well-being of Asian Americans. For example, Hwang and Goto (2009), in their study of 107 Asian American college students, which included 71 (66.35%) East Asian American students, found that perceived discrimination was associated with increased risk for psychological distress, suicidal ideation, anxiety, and depression. Also, Juang and Alvarez (2010) studied a sample of 181 Chinese American adolescents and their parents to determine the link between racial discrimination and adjustment issues, as well as the effect of family cohesion on the link. Their research found that racial discrimination was related to poorer adjustment in terms of loneliness, anxiety, and somatization (Juang & Alvarez, 2010). That is, Chinese American adolescents' experiences of racial discrimination were directly related to their psychological difficulties, which, in turn, might increase depressive symptoms and decrease self-esteem (Juang & Alvarez, 2010). Juang and Alvarez (2010) also found that greater family conflict exacerbated the negative effects of discrimination and greater family cohesion buffered the negative effects of discrimination, highlighting the familial influence on East Asian American adolescents'

experiences of discrimination. Additionally, according to a study of 2,095 Asian Americans regarding their lifetime suicidal ideation and suicidal attempts, high levels of perceived discrimination were associated with suicidal ideation, as well as suicidal attempts (Cheng et al., 2010).

Self-reported experiences of racial discrimination are inherently limited because it is impossible to objectively determine if biased actions and judgments are made as a result of racial distinctions. Also, participants' self-report of racial discrimination may depend on their awareness and acknowledgment of racial inequality in our society. The results of the aforementioned research may have only been able to capture a limited aspect of the phenomenon of self-reported racial discrimination; however, the significance of their results still demonstrates the clear relationship between the experience of racial discrimination and psychological and physical health of Asian American individuals.

Experiencing daily racism and racial discrimination is not exclusive to Asian Americans; rather, it is a pervasive phenomenon confronting all racial minority groups. However, researchers have argued that Asian Americans' experiences of racism are distinct from those of any other racial groups because Asian Americans' experience of discrimination is oftentimes minimized or perceived to be less severe than it is for other racial minority groups (Lee, 2003; Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004). Due to the model minority myth, i.e., the preconceived notion of Asian Americans experiencing socioeconomic and educational successes at a higher level compared to members of other racial groups (Gee et al., 2009), there has been a lack of attention at the systemic level on Asian Americans' experiences of racism, racial discrimination, and other psychological difficulties stemming from their minority status (Sue, 1994).

Research on the model minority stereotype has firmly refuted the validity of the stereotype (Li, 2005; McGowan & Lindgren, 2006); however, the stereotype persists and continues to negatively influence the Asian American population (Choi, 2008). Results from two focus groups with 17 Asian American young adults, which included 5 East Asian American young adults, suggested that the model minority stereotypes sustained by Asian Americans, as well as non-Asian Americans, place additional stress on Asian American young adults (Lee et al., 2009). Gupta, Szymanski, and Leong (2011) also studied the relationship between internalization of the model minority stereotype, psychological stress, and help-seeking attitudes of 291 Asian American adults, of whom 53% were of East Asian descent. The results indicated that a higher endorsement of the model minority stereotype about the self was related to higher levels of psychological and somatic symptoms. Taken together, studies on the model minority stereotype have suggested that the endorsement of positive stereotypes can be just as deleterious to one's psychological health and well-being as the endorsement of negative racial stereotypes.

Gupta et al.'s (2011) study also demonstrated the negative effect of the model minority stereotype endorsement on Asian Americans' help-seeking attitudes. The researchers found that those who internalized the model minority myth were less likely to seek psychological services, possibly due to their misconception that all other Asians are well adjusted and have no problems. A study by Kim and Lee (2014) also supported the results of Gupta and colleagues (2011). Their study of 106 Asian American college students, which included 66 students of East Asian descent, demonstrated that the endorsement of positive Asian stereotypes, as well as the belief that Asian Americans do experience more success compared to other racial minority groups, were inversely related to help-seeking attitudes. The model minority stereotype encourages Asian Americans to conform to mythical expectations that they are to achieve high educational, occupational, and

economic success. The stereotype places pressure on Asian Americans, which may lead to feelings of inadequacy and self-doubt when they fail to meet these expectations (Kim & Park, 2008).

Besides the systemic neglect of Asian Americans' experience of racism and the negative influence of the model minority stereotype, Asian Americans also strive to focus on their successes and accomplishments in order to avoid family shame (Sue, 1994). This phenomenon may result in fewer reports of racism, racial barriers, and other adjustment difficulties, in addition to lack of conscious awareness of racially charged incidents (Sue, 1994). Moreover, as Goffman (1963) explained, Asian Americans may experience pressure to distance themselves from the stigma associated with their racial group. As a result, they may try to assimilate to the dominant culture in order to de-identify with their own racial group and minimize race-related issues. Pyke and Dang (2003) interviewed 184 Asian Americans, which included 85 Korean Americans and 99 Vietnamese Americans, about their use of the label "FOB" ("Fresh Off the Boat") and the term "whitewashed" to examine the dynamics of internalized racism. The qualitative data indicated that Asian Americans used these words to denigrate fellow Asian Americans as "too ethnic" or "too assimilated" (Pyke & Dang, 2003). Respondents stated that they used the label "FOB" with negative connotations of being "outdated" (Pyke & Dang, 2003, p. 158), "ridiculous looking" (Pyke & Dang, 2003, p. 158), and "the typical Asian" (Pyke & Dang, 2003, p. 158), who is "nerdy" (Pyke & Dang, 2003, p. 158) and only socializes with other Asians. However, their use of the term "whitewashed" was more varied and contradictory. More assimilated respondents often regarded "whitewashed" as a positive status, reflecting their pride as accepted members of White society, which helped them resist being identified with negative racial stereotypes (Pyke & Dang, 2003). On the other hand, other respondents used the

term “whitewashed” to derogate more assimilated Asian Americans who “forgot their roots” (Pyke & Dang, 2003, p. 160) because it is impossible for them to racially assimilate to the mainstream White Americans (Pyke & Dang, 2003). The study results demonstrated Asian Americans’ unique experiences of internalized racism as a result of continued systemic racism and racial discrimination against Asian Americans in the United States and their struggle in dealing with racially charged experiences.

Family Experiences of Racial Discrimination

One of the most important contexts to consider when examining Asian Americans’ experiences of racism is family. Family members’ experiences with racial discrimination and the stress associated with these experiences, especially those of parents, influence their communication regarding race, ethnicity, and culture within the family system, which, in turn, influence their children’s ability to cope with discriminatory encounters in the future (Benner & Kim, 2009). Research consistently demonstrates that racial discrimination on a group level, in addition to discrimination on an individual level, is prevalent against Asian Americans in the United States (Lee, 2003; Ying, Lee, & Tsai, 2000), which suggests a possibility of vicarious experiences of discrimination among Asian Americans. However, there has been limited research examining the influence of others’ experiences of racial discrimination on individual Asian Americans, especially within the family system (e.g., Benner & Kim, 2009; Caughy et al., 2004; Juang & Alvarez, 2011). Very few studies have illuminated the intergenerational influences of race-related experiences in Asian American families, possibly reflecting the empirical results of the lower rate of parents’ communication regarding race and racial discrimination to their children in the Asian American community (Hughes et al., 2006). Despite lack of communication regarding race in general, Benner and Kim’s (2009) longitudinal study

based on a sample of 444 Chinese American families showed that Chinese American parents' experiences of racial discrimination were associated with more parental racial-ethnic socialization practices. The research outcome paralleled similar results of parents' discrimination experiences leading to racial-ethnic socialization practices within non-Asian families (Crouter et al., 2008; Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Johnson, 2001).

Additionally, Alvarez, Juang, and Liang (2006) studied the relationships among racial socialization, racial identity, and perceptions of racism, with a sample of 254 Asian American undergraduate students, of whom approximately 50.8% were of East Asian descent. The results indicated that explicit discussions about race and racism were positively related to participants' perceptions of racism, while other aspects of racial socialization, such as number of ethnic studies courses taken and racial composition of their social environments, did not significantly predict their perceptions of racism. That is, conversations about race and racism with significant others, such as family members and friends, may play a significant role in Asian Americans' understanding of their racial experiences and preparation for future race-related incidents.

The aforementioned studies have argued that parents' experiences of racial discrimination were linked to their children's greater perception and awareness of discrimination. These findings may make it seem as if parental experiences of racial discrimination function as a psychological stressor for their children, possibly sensitizing them to their own discrimination experiences. However, parents' experiences of discrimination and their communication with their children regarding race and racism may allow their children and other family members to find various coping strategies and protective resources in the face of racial oppression (Lee, 2003). With a greater understanding and awareness of racial injustice and inequality that are pervasive in society, Asian American children may seek out community or peer support from

other racial and ethnic minority groups. They also may be able to find support from their own racial and ethnic communities, strengthening their ethnic identity and enhancing their sense of connectedness with their racial and ethnic groups. A study of 84 Korean American college students demonstrated that ethnic identity pride could function as a protective factor that moderated the effects of racial discrimination on depressive symptoms (Lee, 2005).

Racial-Ethnic Socialization

In an effort to understand ways to prevent the negative effects of racial discrimination, scholars have focused their research on finding various protective factors that can promote resilience among Asian Americans, such as ethnic identity (Lee, 2005; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Yoo & Lee, 2005), nativity status (Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008), in addition to family support. Studies have indicated that parent-child communications about race and ethnic culture are central components of family interaction in racial minority families (Hughes et al., 2006; Sinclair et al., 2005). The transmission of information regarding race and ethnicity from parents to their children is called *racial-ethnic socialization*. The term originated from the racial socialization practices within African American families, in which parents strived to instill hope in and promote high self-esteem to their children in the face of racial barriers and discrimination (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). On the other hand, the terms, ethnic socialization and cultural socialization, have been used more frequently to describe the experiences of other racial groups, such as Latino and Asian families, in the face of pressure to assimilate to the dominant culture in the United States (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993). Recent studies have used the combined term of racial-ethnic socialization because all people are members of at least one racial and ethnic category, and parents' delivery of messages regarding race and culture cannot be

easily distinguished, due to the interconnected nature of racial and ethnic experiences in minority families.

Racial-ethnic socialization may be consciously or unconsciously and verbally or non-verbally communicated to children by their parents (Vargas & Koss-Chioino, 1992). However, prevailing models of familial racial-ethnic socialization have been largely based on conceptualizations of explicit and deliberate communication of verbal messages regarding race and ethnicity. For instance, Hughes and Chen (1997) developed a measure to investigate the process of verbal racial-ethnic socialization of African American parents with children 4 to 14 years old. The explicit verbal behaviors, such as talking, teaching, or explaining, had three general components: (a) teaching of African American culture, (b) preparing children for experiences with prejudice, and (c) promoting out-group mistrust. Tran and Lee (2010) adopted the scale of Hughes and Chen (1997) to assess perceived racial-ethnic socialization practices from the Asian Americans' perspective, which supported similar patterns of the conscious display of racial-ethnic socialization messages in Asian American families. These measures have provided useful information regarding explicit racial-ethnic socialization practices of various racial minority groups; however, they did not capture the implicit and indirect socialization messages that racial minority parents often communicate to their children.

Subtle and implicit modes of racial-ethnic socialization, such as affective and nonverbal messages (e.g., automatic and spontaneous affective responses, and contextual exposure to race, ethnicity, and culture without explicit teaching of messages) have not been as fully assessed as explicit verbal socialization. Implicit racial-ethnic socialization messages, although occurring frequently outside the parents' awareness, may have been simultaneously presented with intentional and explicit messages and may have significantly shaped their children's racial

identity and sense of belonging to their racial and ethnic groups (Yasui, 2015). Thus, there is a need to assess implicit parent-child socialization attitudes and practices regarding race, ethnicity, and culture.

In addition, nonverbal socialization messages are crucial to the understanding of racial-ethnic socialization practices within racial and ethnic minority families. Although it has been challenging to identify key nonverbal socialization behaviors due to the diversity of nonverbal messages and behaviors, a wide range of nonverbal modes of parent-child communication, such as spending time with the child, use of facial expressions, parental modeling, and even non-communication, has accounted for a large portion of the socialization process (Juang, Shen, Kim, & Wang, 2016; Marshall, 1995). Due to Asian American families' preferences for indirect and nonverbal communication (Juang et al., 2016; Park & Kim, 2008), it is essential to attend to implicit socialization practices that involve parents' indirect and nonverbal messages in their interaction with their children regarding race and culture. Given the importance of implicit messages in Asian culture, Juang et al. (2016) created a parental racial-ethnic socialization scale appropriate for Asian American families with implicit socialization items in the scale, focusing on the aspects of parental modeling, such as whether parents moved away from sitting or standing next to a person of another race. The results of their factor analysis indicated that Asian American parents do transmit implicit racial-ethnic socialization messages using modeling behaviors, but not as a means to promote their children's awareness of discrimination (Juang et al., 2016). The results may possibly be due to the difficulty of capturing implicit ways that parents make their children aware of discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006) or due to the difficult nature of promoting awareness of racial discrimination in their children (Juang et al., 2016).

Nonetheless, such research efforts in developing a scale that incorporated implicit modes

of racial-ethnic socialization highlights the relevance of implicit socialization practices in studying racial-ethnic socialization of Asian American parents. Besides scale development studies, other studies have focused on implicit racial communication. For example, a study of the intergenerational effects of Japanese American internment on third-generation Japanese American adult children demonstrated the impact of nonverbal socialization or lack of communication about the internment within the family (Nagata & Cheng, 2003). According to Nagata and Cheng (2003), family conversations about parents' internment experiences were present, but oftentimes very brief, which can be seen as a continuing dimension of silence and non-communication. This pattern of communication had its own messages and effect, which heightened the children's sense of parental trauma and internment-related discomfort (Nagata & Cheng, 2003). Based on extant research findings on nonverbal socialization, the current study seeks to attend to the various types and patterns of racial-ethnic socialization practices within Asian American families and factors that may influence racial socialization patterns and attitudes.

Colorblind Ideology

Another factor that may influence East Asian American parents' view of racial discrimination and thereby their racial-ethnic socialization practices is colorblind ideology. According to Gushue (2004), colorblindness refers to an individual's general unawareness and/or denial of the social significance of race and the dismissal or depreciation of the existence of contemporary racism in today's society. Historically, colorblind ideology has been used by White individuals to de-emphasize the idea of cultural pluralism, which values the unique culture of each race and ethnicity (Lewis, 2001). However, colorblindness in fact has its influence on

families of all racial groups because all racial groups are influenced by the White majority culture and ideology.

Colorblind attitudes can influence parents' experiences of racial-ethnic socialization with their children. In parents' socialization practices, colorblind ideology may leave their children unprepared for racial realities (Spencer, 1983) by teaching them that they should not notice race and emphasizing personal and individual efforts of hard work and self acceptance in navigating a racialized society. The data from the Minnesota International Adoption Project, which examined families with internationally adopted children, further explained the impact of colorblind ideology on parental racial-ethnic socialization (Lee, Grotevant, Hellerstedt, & Gunnar, 2006). According to Lee et al. (2006), parents with lower colorblind attitudes engaged in greater racial-ethnic socialization behaviors (i.e., having their children participate in cultural activities and speaking to their children's teachers about their adoption history) and tended to have more discussions about racism and racial discrimination than parents with higher colorblind attitudes. In other words, parents who hold strong racial awareness and beliefs about the value of racialization will make conscious efforts to engage in racial-ethnic socialization with their children.

Colorblind attitudes may also be predictive of parents' tendency to be silent about race. The majority of racial-ethnic socialization studies have not focused on the impact of silence, although failure to mention racial issues also communicates race-related values and perspectives to children (Hughes et al., 2006). In fact, very few studies have captured the tendency of "not practicing any racial-ethnic socialization" with children when using pre-existing measures of racial-ethnic socialization (e.g., Marshall, 1995). However, when parents were asked open-ended questions about the socialization strategies they use, a substantial minority reported doing

“nothing” (Demo & Hughes, 1990). Taken together, research on parents’ racial-ethnic socialization suggests that colorblindness may be an important factor related to parenting practices regarding teaching of race and racism within families.

Summary

Asian Americans’ experiences of racial discrimination and racial-ethnic socialization have been overlooked in the past due to the systemic neglect of Asian American racial identity and the existence of other contributing sociocultural factors, such as the model minority myth and colorblind racial attitudes. Consequently, only a limited amount of literature has addressed the race-related experiences of Asian Americans, and there is an increasing need for a more rigorous, culturally appropriate approach to examining race-related phenomena pertaining to this community and its subgroups. Previous studies have indicated that family experiences of racial discrimination, as well as parental racial-ethnic socialization practices, heavily influence children’s perception of their racial experience and prepare them for future race-related incidents (Alvarez et al., 2006; Benner & Kim, 2009; Crouter et al., 2008; Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Additionally, some studies have indicated that implicit and nonverbal racial-ethnic socialization messages are still influential to Asian American families and children (Juang et al., 2016; Nagata & Cheng, 2003). Based on the findings of previous research, this study incorporated a family systems theory alongside a critical race theory and sought to further investigate the racial-ethnic socialization practices of East Asian American parents, with a focus on intergenerational influences of race-related experiences, and various modes of socially influenced racial-ethnic socialization messages communicated within East Asian American families.

Chapter 3

Method

The purpose of this qualitative study was to gain an in-depth understanding of East Asian American parents' unique experiences and perceptions about the effects of race, racial discrimination, and culture in their racial-ethnic interaction with their families. Further, this study aimed to understand East Asian American individuals' intergenerational racial-ethnic socialization experiences by exploring their personal experiences of racial-ethnic socialization, both as a child and as a parent.

Research Design

This qualitative study implemented a phenomenological approach within a constructivist-interpretivist paradigm, using a family systems and critical race theory framework, to bring to light multiple, yet equally valid, realities (Schwandt, 1994 in Ponterotto, 2005) of East Asian American parents' family interactions about race and culture. Phenomenology allowed for a thorough examination of East Asian American parents' racial-ethnic socialization practices to understand their unique perspectives and invariant characteristics of the phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994). In this research, I aimed to broaden my philosophical perspectives and methodological knowledge about phenomenological research in order to search for participants' complex meanings of the socially constructed phenomenon of racial-ethnic socialization within their families.

The constructivist-interpretivist paradigm advocated dynamic interactions between the researcher and the participants in the research process, in order to gain deeper insights into participants' experiences of the studied phenomena (Ponterotto, 2005). Due to its emphasis on the active role of the researcher in the research process in terms of the data collection and

analysis, reflexivity regarding the influence of the researcher's values, biases, and overall personal experiences related to the research topic was necessary (Ponterotto, 2005). Thus, researcher reflexivity is documented and discussed in this chapter.

Participants

Research participants included six adult mothers of East Asian descent, two with Chinese, one with Chinese-Taiwanese, and three with Korean backgrounds. Participants currently live in the United States and serve as a primary caregiver for at least one child, aged five to eight. Each participant was a second-generation East Asian American and the child of immigrant parents. All participants were mothers, and all reported having a spouse of the same Asian heritage. All participants had at least a bachelor's degree, three had a master's degree, and one had a doctorate or professional degree. Participants' occupations included Editorial Manager, Occupational Therapist, Homemaker, Marriage and Family Therapist, and Optometrist. One participant reported a family income between \$50-75K and five more than 150K. Four participants identified themselves with Protestant Christianity, one with Catholicism, and one with no particular religious affiliation. All spoke primarily English with their children. Three children were five years old, two were six years old, and one was eight years old. Four children were female, and two were male. All participants reported that they live in suburban areas: three in Southern California, two in Northern California, and one in North Carolina. Two reported living in Asian-populated areas, three in racially and ethnically diverse areas, and one in a predominantly White area.

Table 1

Participant Characteristics

Participants	Ethnic Background	Child Age	Child Gender	Geographic Location	Family Income
Lauren	Chinese	8	Female	Suburban; Asian-populated	>150K
Anna	Korean	6	Male	Suburban; racially and ethnically diverse	>150K
Olivia	Korean	5	Female	Suburban; Asian-populated	50K-75K
Nancy	Chinese - Taiwanese	5	Male	Suburban; racially and ethnically diverse	>150K
Chrystal	Korean	5	Female	Suburban; racially and ethnically diverse	>150K
Kay	Chinese	6	Female	Suburban; predominantly White	>150K

Note. Participants' names are pseudonyms.

The children and parents of the participants were of the same race and ethnicity as the participant. Intergenerational racial and ethnic homogeneity was used as an inclusion criterion because it was reasoned that the racial and ethnic socialization practices that happen cross-racially and cross-ethnically would be significantly different from the racial and ethnic socialization practiced within the same race and ethnicity.

East Asian American parents of children aged five to eight were targeted because this age range is a critical time at which children can accurately recognize racial differences and communicate about various racial issues (Katz & Kofkin, 1997). When children are between five and eight years old, they are old enough to think and discuss with their parents about race

and racial issues (Bigler, Averhart, & Liben, 2003; Katz & Kofkin, 1997). Katz and Kofkin (1997) reported that babies as young as six months can recognize phenotypical differences of various racial groups, evidenced by their staring longer at the face of a person from a different racial group than their own. Also, as they reach age five, children can see race as an important aspect of difference even without race being explicitly discussed with them (Katz & Kofkin, 1997). Moreover, when children reach age six, they can show in-group favoritism toward their own race and develop prejudice toward people from different racial groups (Vittrup & Holden, 2010). By the age of seven or eight, children have the cognitive ability to reflect on social status biases based on racial differences (Bigler et al., 2003). Hence, age five to eight was determined as the ideal time for parents to open a dialogue about race with their children – they are old enough to fully recognize racial differences and biases, and young enough to be flexible in their beliefs, which might engender more active parental racial-ethnic socialization.

In addition, second-generation East Asian American individuals who are children of immigrants were chosen as the target of this study because of their unique adaptive experiences with balancing multiple enculturation and acculturation processes as they navigate the mainstream and ethnic cultures (Pyke & Dang, 2003). Second-generation East Asian Americans' intergenerational racial-ethnic socialization experiences may also provide insight into the unique realities of their racial identity as Asian Americans and the experience of growing up with immigrant parents and raising Asian American children in a racialized society.

Because the study aimed to recruit parents from a small and specific group, i.e., second-generation East Asian American parents of young child(ren) aged five to eight, purposive sampling was used to obtain detailed information about this relatively homogeneous group's experiences of racial-ethnic socialization. Purposive sampling refers to a non-random selection

process in which the researcher decides to find research participants according to the researcher's inclusion criteria who are willing and able to provide the information based on their experiential knowledge (Bernard, 2002). Additionally, snowball sampling was used to maximize the chance of recruiting participants from heterogeneous ethnic groups within the East Asian American community (Sadler, Lee, Lim, & Fullerton, 2010).

Individual Interviews

A semi-structured, in-depth individual interview protocol (see Appendix A) was used to allow East Asian American parent participants to tell their own stories of racial-ethnic socialization experiences with their families. Individual interviews were optimal for this study because they helped the researcher to obtain individuals' personal histories, perspectives, and experiences of the topic that are not often discussed and explored. The data would not have an adequate amount of information for analysis if the researcher was unable to encourage participants to deeply engage in talking about their experiences (Smith et al., 2009). Therefore, the researcher played an active role in the interview process by listening attentively and probing participants appropriately in order to obtain more stories from participants' personal points of view. The interview questions were created based on a review of literature on Asian Americans' experiences of racial-ethnic socialization and other sociocultural factors that may influence such socialization practices.

Additionally, participants were asked to participate in a follow-up interview within two months of the initial interview, in order to further examine participants' thought processes after they had time to reflect on their racial-ethnic socialization experiences (See Appendix D for follow-up interview guide). This was because it was reasoned that the interview itself could be thought-provoking for participants, particularly for those who may not have thought much about

racial-ethnic socialization prior to the interview. The follow-up interview was an opportunity for participants to share with the researcher their reflections since the interview. Participants were also provided with the opportunity to review the transcribed data in order to offer feedback and further explanation.

Procedure

Participants were recruited by contacting leaders of professional organizations, regional parent organizations, East Asian language schools, East Asian daycare placements, after-school programs, and religious organizations. The leaders of the aforementioned organizations were asked to forward the information about the study to potential participants who may meet the inclusion criteria for this study. Additionally, participants were recruited via the researcher's social network by requesting individuals to forward the information about the study. Individuals who have a pre-existing professional and personal relationship with the researcher were excluded from the study. Once potential participants expressed interest in participating in the study, the researcher screened them for inclusion using the pre-interview questionnaire (see Appendix B). Interested individuals who met the criteria for the study were asked to review and sign an informed consent form, complete the demographic questionnaire (see Appendix C), and schedule an interview session. Participants were interviewed remotely via Skype, at a time and location convenient for the participants. Individual interviews were audio-visually recorded upon consent and the interview data were transcribed by the researcher for analysis. Participants were contacted again within two months of the initial interview for a follow-up interview and to provide feedback about their experience in the interview on the topic of racial ethnic socialization.

Qualitative Analysis

Based on family systems theory and critical race theory, I paid close attention to how the influence of various individual, interpersonal, and macrosystemic factors manifested in participants' experiences of racial-ethnic socialization within their family systems. This involved asking pertinent follow-up questions during the interviews, related to various factors of family and race which influenced their racial-ethnic socialization practices. It also included interpreting the data using concepts from family systems (e.g., intergenerational influence, grandparent involvement in childcare, family culture, and parent-child dynamics) and critical race theory (e.g., racism, racial identity conflict, and colorblind ideology), where the data supported such interpretations. The codes were then based on the explicit themes apparent in the individual interviews, along with other sociocultural contextual factors (e.g., immigration and political correctness) that influenced participants' experiences of racial-ethnic socialization.

Additionally, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA; Smith et al., 2009) was used to analyze the qualitative data. Influenced by ideography and phenomenology, IPA is a qualitative research approach that allows detailed and in-depth analysis of how individuals subjectively understand their particular life experiences. Following the constructivist-interpretivist paradigm, IPA acknowledges that understanding of participants' experiences is influenced by the researchers' own experiences, biases, and conceptions about the studied topic, which necessitates a process of interpretative activity on the researchers' part (Smith, Jarman, & Osborn, 1999). The term IPA is therefore used to emphasize the dual facets of the research approach and the dual effort from both participant and researcher in the data collection and analysis process (Smith et al., 2009).

The study utilized Smith et al.'s (2009) guidelines for data analysis, using IPA. The first step of IPA was to read the transcript to ensure that the participant is the focus of analysis. Next, it was recommended to take notes of the researcher's observation, thought processes, and overall experience of the interview in order to bracket them for more in-depth analysis. The second step involved line-by-line analysis and initial noting of the data, in terms of its descriptive, linguistic, and conceptual aspects of the participant's experience of racial-ethnic socialization with his/her family members. More specifically, descriptive comments captured the content of what the participants said, noting their key words and phrases. Linguistic comments focused on the participants' use of language (e.g., the use of metaphors and repetition of words and phrases, such as "a certain group of people"). Lastly, conceptual comments included comments that are more interpretive and theoretical in nature. In step three, the researcher identified the emergent themes that capture what is crucial and meaningful in the data, emphasizing both convergence and divergence, commonality and nuance (Smith et al., 2009). This step was when theoretical concepts framing this study (i.e., concepts from family systems and critical race theory) informed the identification of emergent themes. After the researcher came up with the list of themes that were manifest in the interviews, the fourth step involved searching for connections across emergent themes to organize them into superordinate and subordinate themes. Once the steps were finished, the researcher moved on to another data set and repeated the data analysis process, attending to the significance of themes.

Validity

Williams and Morrow's (2009) criteria for trustworthiness was followed in this study as a way to attend to the validity of qualitative research within a constructivist-interpretivist paradigm. According to Williams and Morrow, the trustworthiness of a research study can be

achieved by (a) the integrity of the data, i.e., articulation of methods, sufficient quality and quantity of data, and the fit between the researcher's interpretation and the data, (b) balance between reflexivity and subjectivity, and (c) clear communication of findings. The integrity of the data was obtained by clearly articulated and documented procedures of recruitment, interviewing, transcription, and data analysis, which allows for systematic replication of the study in the future (Williams & Morrow, 2009). Additionally, ensuring an adequate sample size and the equal inclusion of each participant's viewpoints and meanings regarding their racial-ethnic socialization practices helped address integrity of the data. More specifically, the transcribed data and themes were shared with the participants for their feedback, and in the follow-up interview, they were asked for their verbal feedback about the initial interview. Feedback about their experiences of the interview and accuracy of the data promoted a value of co-construction and mutual interpretation of the data, expanding the richness of the data. Finally, the fit between the researcher's interpretation and the data was established by documenting direct quotes as evidence in support of the interpretations in the data analysis process (Williams & Morrow, 2009).

Along with the integrity of the data, the balance between the researcher's reflexivity and subjectivity was essential in ensuring the trustworthiness of the study. All research is subject to researcher bias, due to the researcher's own subjectivity and chosen paradigms guiding the research (Morrow, 2005). A constructivist-interpretivist paradigm embraces the active role of the researcher in the data collection and interpretation; therefore, it is important to pay attention to the researcher's understanding of self and the influence of his or her own experiences in the research process. In order to value the co-construction and mutual interpretation of the data among researcher and participants, the researcher engaged in an ongoing reflexive process

through self-reflective journaling and asked participants for feedback throughout the research process to ensure the subjectivity of each participant's experiences (Williams & Morrow, 2009).

The final component of a study's trustworthiness, according to Williams and Morrow (2009), was the clear communication of findings. Interpretation of the data should be clearly presented by the writing or presentation of the work, easily understood by the reader, and supported by direct quotes. In addition, social validity (Morrow, 2005) can be established by clearly revealing limitations in the research and encouraging further dialogue on the studied topic (Williams & Morrow, 2009).

Researcher Reflexivity

Qualitative research within a constructivist-interpretivist paradigm requires researchers to be knowledgeable about their personal characteristics, biases, expectations, experiences, and worldviews about the research topic in order to enhance the accuracy and credibility of the research findings (Berger, 2015). This process of acknowledging and accounting for the self as a researcher is called reflexivity. Reflexivity is viewed as a self-appraisal process in research that allows the researcher to evaluate and acknowledge her positionality within the research, which may affect the overall research process and outcome (Bradbury-Jones, 2007). This process directly challenges the positivist view of research as being objective and independent from the researcher's view of the topic (Berger, 2015). I, as the principal investigator for this study, used reflexivity memos throughout this study in order to understand my positionality within this research topic.

I, Jiwon Yoo, am a female, heterosexual, Korean national with permanent residency in the United States. I have lived in South Korea for a total of 16 years, 15 years as a child, 1 year as an adult. I moved to the United States for my education, away from my family in South

Korea, when I was 15 years old, as an early study abroad international student. I have lived in the United States for 17 years, although I have spent approximately 25% of the time in South Korea visiting my family and gaining work experience. I have been married to a Korean national, heterosexual male for seven years, and together, we are raising a two-year-old Korean American boy.

My personal experiences with racism and racial discrimination in the United States have impacted my views and emotions as a person of color living and having a family in the United States, which have cultivated a sense of fear, especially about parenting a Korean/Asian American child in the United States as a Korean-born mother. Having no previous experiences of racial-ethnic socialization practices with my parents, I became curious about how other East Asian families in the United States discuss race, racial discrimination, cultural differences, and their shared racial and ethnic identities to facilitate mutual understanding about these systemic issues of race. I wanted to see how family members support each other in their children's process of building their racial identity and processing their experience as part of a racial minority group.

In the process of developing my ideas for this research, I expected that my personal experience as a Korean-born individual, living independently and physically distant from my parents, might provide me with a fresh perspective in looking at how second-generation East Asian American families talk about race and race-related issues, from an outsider's perspective. However, I feel that there is a possibility that my personal experience could become a disadvantage because I may bring unexamined assumptions (e.g., family members with shared racial identities and experiences will talk more about them with each other, mothers will have

more parent-child conversations about race), which may or may not necessarily fit with the reality of East Asian American families in the United States.

As I proceeded with the data collection and analysis, I kept self-reflective journals to continue to reflect on the presuppositions, biases, and emotional reactions I might have toward participants' subjective racial-ethnic socialization experiences with their families and how my personal life as a parent might affect my research process. Additionally, I endeavored to reflect on various aspects of interaction with research participants in the data collection process and any presuppositions I may have from reading the literature (Morrow, 2005).

Chapter 4

Results

The analysis of the 12 interviews with six participants resulted in seven themes: (a) Asian American Experience of Race and Ethnicity, (b) Racial Ethnic Socialization Experiences as a Child, (c) Ethnic Socialization Experiences as a Parent, (d) Racial Socialization Experiences as a Parent, (e) Ambivalence about Racial Socialization, (f) Second Generation Experience, and (g) Interview Process.

Table 2

Themes and Subthemes

Themes	Subthemes
Asian American Experience of Race and Ethnicity	Racial and ethnic salience
	Racism
	Minimization of race
Racial Ethnic Socialization Experiences as a Child	Ethnic socialization
	Lack of communication about race
	Promotion of mistrust
	Unspoken conflict
Ethnic Socialization Experiences as a Parent	Non-verbal ethnic socialization
	Verbal ethnic socialization
	Intergenerational family support

(continued)

Table 2, continued

Themes	Subthemes
Racial Socialization Experiences as a Parent	Education about race Preparation for racial bias Promotion of diversity and inclusion Intersectionality
Ambivalence about Racial Socialization	Value of racial socialization Negative perceptions about racial socialization Political correctness
Second Generation Experience	Impact of immigration Struggle with ethnic identity Lack of knowledge about ethnic culture Struggle with bicultural identity
Interview Process	Fear and discomfort Post-interview growth

Asian American Experience of Race and Ethnicity

Participants described various experiences associated with their race and ethnicity and voiced the significance of their race and ethnicity in their lives. The subthemes included: (a) racial and ethnic salience, (b) racism, and (c) minimization of race.

Racial and ethnic salience. All six participants noted that race and ethnicity have been salient at one point in their lives as Asian American individuals. Nancy, a Chinese/Taiwanese

American mother, noted that race and ethnicity “come in on a regular basis” for her in her daily life. Similarly, Anna, a Korean American mother, reported, “I feel like it is always on my mind and being a minority here and living with an immigrant husband, I just constantly think about it.” Chrystal, a Korean American mother, echoed a similar sentiment, stating, “Race and ethnicity come up pretty much every day whether I intentionally think about it or not,” as she described a heated discussion she recently had with other Asian American parents at her daughter’s school about the race-based policy for their gifted program admission.

Some participants reported that their race and ethnicity became salient when in interaction with others who are from different racial groups. For example, Kay, a Chinese American mother, recalled her experience of racial bullying in her childhood, which led her to realize her racial difference for the first time. She noted, “I think you don't really realize it until maybe you start going to school... they say things that you don't quite understand why it is a tease, but it is. Then you start realizing that, oh, I'm a little different.” Olivia, a Korean American mother, described the impact of the nationwide unrest following the Ferguson death of Michael Brown, in addition to having a brother-in-law from a different racial background. She reported, “That [interracial marriage] was huge, obviously in Korean family. But then, she (referring to her sister) was pregnant with her son when Ferguson happened. And that was the first time, for me, that I became more aware of the difficulties in the Black community, which later spurred on my own cultural identity journey.”

Racism. Participants’ narratives presented a range of racism and racial discrimination experiences, some with a focus on the impact of racism in their attitudes about their own race and other racial groups. For instance, Chrystal, a Korean American mother, reported her experience of “being called Oriental” and Lauren, a Chinese American mother, shared her

experience as a perpetual foreigner due to her outward appearance when she was traveling outside of her Asian American community. Other participants provided more detailed narratives on internalized racism, a product of a racial stratification in the racial minority groups, which often causes discomfort, confusion, and embarrassment among racial minority individuals (Pyke & Dang, 2003). For example, Anna, a Korean American mother, spoke about her being “anti-Korean” after years of experience in racial intergroup segregation throughout her childhood. She stated the following:

I can't really say exactly, but as I reflect on it, there is just the divide between um, different cliques. It was like the White girls and the Korean girls. And, also, on top of that, there were also the FOB Korean girls who didn't speak English. I didn't want to hang out with them and I tried to stay away from pretty much all Korean groups. I really just, I guess wanted to be White. That really had an impact on the type of friends that I made, the type of music that I listened to, and the social circle that I interacted with.

Olivia, a Korean American mother, explained how she viewed herself in “White America,” stating, “I didn't realize at the time I had put White as the top. I also saw myself as low and like the bottom... American was White and Black to me. I was neither one of those, and so the forever foreigner concept was really ingrained in me.” Kay, a Chinese American mother, also described an incident where she heard from someone that “all Asians look alike.” Instead of noticing this racially loaded phrase as a racist comment, she recalled that she tried to “understand the person because she didn't mean it the bad way.”

Minimization of race. The last subtheme shared by some of the participants was minimization of race, which made participants deny their racialized experiences or question the effect of race on racialized issues, without being fully aware of the race component of their

racialized experiences. Lauren, a Chinese American mother, denied the effect of her race on her college application process, despite her report of some heated discussions around the influence of affirmative action among students of Asian descent. She stated, “It was when I first thought about my race and how it was going to affect me.” However, she later reported, “It was discussed, and okay, everybody likes a heated discussion every now and then, but it wasn’t anything that changed what I decided to do and how I felt about it.” Lauren’s denial of the impact of race was also manifested when she tried to understand her daughter’s experience of racial bullying at school. Lauren stated the following:

She (referring to her daughter) made a comment, even last year, at age seven that, you know, the English-only kids (referring to students from the after-school program in the public school system), they are not as nice as the kids in my class (referring to the Chinese immersion class), you know, they are kind of mean, I don’t wanna hang out with them. So I was like, you know, again, I don’t know how much of that is based on, um, race, but that happened to be about the race.

After acknowledging and denying the race component in her daughter’s experience, Lauren shared that she told her daughter to “shrug it off” when race-related bullying or teasing happens again. Kay, a Chinese American mother, also shared her experience of childhood racial bullying, but negating the racial element of it:

They (referring her peers in elementary school) tease you, like about how you look and what you eat and stuff, and you start realizing that, oh, I’m a little different... Maybe it is funny to some people... But I just never felt, um... I don’t know. I just think that, maybe it wasn’t a huge deal to me. I just brushed it aside... Just some immature kids.

Racial Ethnic Socialization Experiences as a Child

Participants described their experience of racial ethnic socialization growing up, paying attention to the types of messages they received from their parents about race and culture. The following themes were identified: (a) ethnic socialization, (b) lack of communication about race, (c) promotion of mistrust, and (d) unspoken conflict.

Ethnic socialization. Participants noted their learning from their parents about their cultural traditions and values growing up. For example, when asked about their experience of culture-related conversations with parents, Lauren, a Chinese American mother, stated, “[They taught me about] why certain things are done during the Chinese New Year, why certain colors are important, cultural traditions and um, why we do certain things a certain time of the year.” She also reported receiving positive messages from her parents about her Chinese cultural values, stating, “[They talked about] how industrious Chinese people have been, um, the different inventions that were, uh, made by Chinese, how, how Chinese have contributed to history.”

Additionally, participants revisited their memories about their parents wanting them to learn heritage language as a child. Anna, a Korean American mother, recalled, “My parents really wanted me to learn Korean, but I didn't want to learn it... But my parents kept pushing me to learn and said that is important and is part of our culture.”

On the other hand, some participants noted limited conversations about race and culture with their parents growing up. For example, Nancy, a Chinese/Taiwanese American mother, noted her mother’s lack of involvement in teaching her about ethnic culture, aside from cooking ethnic food and speaking heritage language at home. She reported her limited experience of proactive cultural socialization from her parents growing up and stated the following:

I don't think my parents were that gung-ho about their culture. I think my dad more so probably. But he is also, because of the culture, he sees his role as kind of outside of the family. So even if he believes that this is the important piece of cultural information to pass down, it's ultimately up to my mom to pass it down... She thought it wasn't important to talk about culture and cultural ethnic background. So she didn't. Yeah. Besides, kind of, like, you know, she, she cooked, she's like the traditional housewife so she cooked Chinese food and spoke Mandarin. But other than that, she didn't really talk about culture.

Lack of communication about race. Participants uniformly noted a lack of communication about race with their parents growing up. For example, Olivia, a Korean American mother, highlighted her perception of the reason that her parents did not talk about race with her, stating, "I think they just had no idea, like, there is no reason to talk about it. They were probably, like, why should we talk about uncomfortable things?" Anna, a Korean American mother, had a difficult time remembering her communication about race with her parents growing up and stated, "I can't think of, like specifically anything... Nothing like seriously enough that comes to my mind. My mom probably, like, talked to me or my parents talked to me once in a while about it, but it was rare... and nothing really sticks or it's not like a serious talk." Chrystal, a Korean American mother who shared her childhood experience of racial discrimination during the interview, stated, "I don't really recall having discussions about race with my parents... I went home and said I want to be White and that the kids don't want to carpool with me, but they just said, okay, we won't carpool with them."

Promotion of mistrust. Despite participants' lack of experience in race-related conversation with their parents growing up, they noted that most of the race-related messages

they received from their parents geared toward promoting mistrust of people from other racial groups. For example, Anna, a Korean American mother, recalled her mother's comments about other racial groups, stating, "My mom would not let us leave our shoes outside because she thought other people might target our home and rob us because they know we are Asian."

Participants also noted their experience of hearing stereotypical comments from their parents about people of other races. For instance, Anna noted:

[My parents] would not want me to hang out with Mexican kids because, you know, they think that, at least in this area, a lot of them would have kids at young age or drop out of school... They have stereotypes against Black kids, too, like associating them with violence and low socioeconomic status. And even for dating, they didn't allow me to date anyone outside of Korean.

Kay, a Chinese American mother, also described her father's negative stereotypes against people of other races, stating, "I think, to be quite honest, they were a little prejudiced against certain ethnicities, I should say. Growing up, I always felt that was wrong... It kind of made me not necessarily listen to what my parents said, like them stereotyping the whole race."

Additionally, participants also shared their experience of implicit communication with their parents about people of other races. Lauren, a Chinese American mother, noted, "Chinese people are not social, they stick together... My parents did not really socialize with folks of other cultures...And it just tells me something about Chinese people and people who are not Chinese."

Olivia, a Korean American mother, also shared a similar experience of implicit parental message about Black Americans, stating, "She [my mom] never said it exactly like that, but 'Black is bad.' That was what she was implying."

Unspoken conflict. Participants' narratives about their childhood racial ethnic socialization experiences included their internal conflict with their parents' prejudice and stereotypes against other racial groups. Also, participants shared how their perceived filial piety responsibilities interfered in their communication of these internal conflicts with their parents. For example, Lauren, a Chinese American mother, noted her confusion about her immigrant parents' intentionality in their explicit comments about other racial groups:

It's hard to know whether or not it was to influence what we would believe or just to tell us what they wanted to say about it... We never had any conversation about how I thought about what they told me because, you know, they are the older generations, as an Asian American, you respect them. They are older, so you just, whatever, that is what it is.

Nancy, a Chinese/Taiwanese American mother, also shared a similar experience of not being able to talk about her disagreement with her parents. She said the following:

Everything [he said] was kind of like prejudiced and kind of racist... It was really annoying to me (laughs). But I mean, he is older, so what can I do. And I don't feel like he is necessarily going to change his perspective even if I try to tell him what I think.

Ethnic Socialization Experiences as a Parent

The present research used the term racial-ethnic socialization to incorporate various types of explicit verbal messages and implicit non-verbal practices – whether intentional or unintentional – about race and ethnicity. For the purpose of portraying a clear picture of how racial-ethnic socialization is practiced within the East Asian American families, this analysis separated the racial and ethnic components of racial-ethnic socialization to dissect the issues specifically related to each socialization experience. When asked about participants' ethnic

socialization experiences, the following themes were identified: (a) verbal ethnic socialization, (b) non-verbal ethnic socialization, and (c) intergenerational family support.

Verbal ethnic socialization. Participants reported their ethnic socialization efforts which consisted of transmitting verbal messages about cultural traditions and values, as well as initiating further discussion about maintaining their ethnic culture and identity. For example, Kay, a Chinese American mother, stated, “I do want her to know her ethnicity and not be ashamed of it. I talk a lot about why it is important eat Chinese food, to understand a little bit of Chinese culture, and to know where your grandparents came from.” Participants also often initiated conversations about the culture-related activities they were involved in. Chrystal, a Korean American mother who sends her five-year-old daughter to a heritage language program, shared her experience of having a conversation with her daughter about the importance of knowing her heritage language. She stated the following:

I try to tell her benefits of speaking Korean that, “Hey, you're Korean. We are Korean. We need to be proud... And sometimes, when you want to tell me something that you don't want someone else to know, then you can tell me in Korean and I understand you.” So that was kind of like our secret language and so kind of making it fun that way.

Anna, a Korean American mother, also noted her experience of talking to her six-year-old son about the importance of learning the heritage language:

When I try to emphasize, why he should know Korean, I try to emphasize, “Hey, if you wanna speak to Grandma and Grandpa or make friends there [in Korea] you have to speak Korean. And if you want to know how to communicate with others from Korea, it is so important for you to know how to speak it.” I always try to emphasize it like that.

Olivia, a Korean American mother, also spoke about how she dealt with a situation when her daughter was teased for her ethnic lunch, stating, “I was like, you know, you don't have to not eat it because it made you feel sad... She (referring her friend) doesn't know what that is and how delicious that is. I didn't want her to start avoiding Korean food just because of other people.” She also reported that she used the family trip to Korea as “a reference point to talk more about why it is important to know we are Korean even if we only speak English.” She continued:

I try to help her understand, like, we all came from there (referring to Korea), but now we live here (referring to the United States). This is confusing, but we're still Korean. We have conversations every so often that, as I try to explain why we were Asian or Korean, but then we only speak English, you know.

Non-verbal ethnic socialization. Participants reported their behavior-based ethnic socialization with their children aged five to eight, which consisted mainly of sending their children to heritage language programs, visiting the country of origin, and providing exposure to ethnic food. With regard to teaching the heritage language, Lauren, a Chinese American mother, shared her experience of sending her eight-year-old daughter to an immersion program. She stated, “The only reason is to learn the language. It's something that I struggled when growing up... One day a week Chinese school is just not enough to, I mean, I can speak the language, but I can't read or write.” Chrystal, a Korean American mother, also shared her experience of sending her five-year-old daughter to a weekly Korean language program. She reported the following:

You know, I'm sending her to Korean school on the weekend. There have been times where she says that she doesn't want to go, but I just drop her off there every Saturday... There have been times I tried to speak Korean to her and she'll just say, ‘Speak regular.’

(laughs). I'm like, 'What do you mean by regular?' You know, and she's like, 'Regular. Just regular.'

Participants also shared that they made a trip to their country of origin to teach their children about their culture. Anna, a Korean American mother, stated, "I've only been to Korea once, and that was when I was five years old... but we've gone maybe three times so far and we've taken him twice. It is a good way to teach him about his culture, and that he is Korean." Olivia, a Korean American mother, also shared her experience of visiting Korea with her child to show her "where Halmuni (Grandmother in Korean) and Harabuji (Grandfather in Korean) are from."

With regard to ethnic food, Nancy and Olivia reported their experience of cooking ethnic food at home or packing their children's lunch with ethnic food. Olivia emphasized her wish to "help her become more aware [of her culture]" by providing more exposure to ethnic food.

Intergenerational family support. When asked about their experience of ethnic socialization, participants noted the support they get from their parents in teaching the ethnic culture, values, and language. Nancy, a Chinese American mother, stated how her mother is helping her son to learn their heritage language:

My mom helps me take care of my kids and she spoke only Mandarin to my son. So it's, he pretty much picked up both Mandarin and English right at the get-go when he was picking up language. I also speak Mandarin with my mom, so we really don't shy away from him, like speaking Mandarin, knowing how to do that.

Olivia, a Korean American mother, also reported, "They (referring to her parents-in-law) both are obviously, obviously fluent in Korean and then pretty fluent in English. So, they, but they're trying to teach our kids Korean because I don't speak Korean."

Lauren, a Chinese American mother, also highlighted the role of grandparents in child care, as well as teaching ethnic culture and values, stating, “My parents, um, have a very significant role in my children's lives. My kids are around them a lot. And they eat Chinese food together and learn Chinese manners and stuff.” Chrystal, a Korean American mother, shared her limited knowledge in Korean culture and the help she was getting from her parents and parents-in-law:

I am a bit laid back about it (referring to teaching Korean culture), like, she will get it. I just try to remind her... But thankfully my in-laws have shown me grace and my mom, my parents help my daughter learn Korean culture because they understand that I grew up here.

Racial Socialization Experiences as a Parent

Racial socialization is defined as messages transmitted from an older generation about the attitudes and beliefs about race, race-based intergroup interactions, and racial identity (Lesane-Brown, 2006). When asked about participants’ experience of racial-ethnic socialization, they shared extensively about their practices, beliefs, and attitudes about racial socialization, more so than about their ethnic or cultural socialization. Four subthemes emerged in participants’ narratives: (a) education about race, (b) preparation for racial bias, (c) promotion of diversity and inclusion, and (d) intersectionality.

Education about race. Participants noted their experience of teaching their children about race, which appeared to be both proactive and reactive in nature. For example, Olivia, a Korean American mother of a five-year-old daughter, expressed her wish to help her daughter develop a sense of appreciation for diversity and talked about her proactive gesture to teach her daughter about race. She stated, “We got her brown dolls, like from the beginning. We never

talked about it explicitly, but we made sure you know, she had exposure to different colored things.” Olivia also mentioned the conversation she had with her daughter when she expressed dislike of “Brown people” and her brown doll. She recalled the following:

This was that night (referring to the day when she said, ‘I don’t like Brown people.’), I was like, ‘Hey, why don’t you want to play with Tiana?’ (laughs) And I asked her if that was because she was brown, and, she was trying to, like, indirectly say ‘Yes, I don’t want to play with her because she’s brown’, but she didn’t say it directly, so I pointed it out and said, ‘It is like when we say we don’t like someone because they look different than us. And it’s not nice.’ And I told her it’s like if someone were to say, ‘Oh, I don’t like the way you look, so I’m not gonna play with you.’... And I gave her these, like, scenarios of what it would feel like to be on the other side... And so we refer back to that conversation often.

Chrystal, a Korean American mother of a five-year-old girl, also reported an incident where her daughter made comments about phenotypic racial differences. She shared, “She (referring to her daughter) mentioned, ‘Oh, he has different hair than me!’ So we started talking about everyone has different hair, different skin colors, and so on. Then she started talking to me about so and so has curly hair and so and so has yellow hair and things like that.” Anna, a Korean American mother, also noted her experience of having a conversation with her six-year-old son about Asian identity and other racial identities beyond Black and White. She indicated that she started the conversation upon her son’s identification with White. She stated, “So I said, ‘No, we’re Asian,’ and he was like, ‘What?’ and he was saying, like ‘My skin is not black. It is white.’ So I explained to him that it is not just black and white, but, you know, there’s also Asian from Asian culture.” Olivia, in her conversation with her five-year-old daughter, noticed her negative

reaction to racial differences, which made her facilitate further discussion about racial differences. She stated the following:

We were reading this book called People. I don't know if you've seen it, it's a kid's book, but it just talks about a variety of people on this planet. Different eyes, ears, hair, like different beliefs, like, all different things. And my kid pointed the hair part that looked like dreads and said, 'Ew!' And immediately, I was like, 'Why are you saying ew?' And it led into a conversation about, like, again, 'It's not kind to point to somebody.' Just like, differences in accepting the difference versus judging the difference.

Preparation for racial bias. Participants reported their effort in teaching their child how to deal with racial discrimination and prejudice. Lauren, a Chinese American mother, recalled her conversation with her eight-year-old daughter about what she could do during a racial encounter. Lauren stated, "The first thing I tell her to do is to say to that person, 'That's not nice. That's not kind.'" She also reported about the importance of being an advocate, stating, "If you see someone else picking on other Asian American students because of this kind of situation, you need to stand up for them and then go tell the teacher who would need to know about this because that's not okay." Olivia, a Korean American mother, also noted a conversation about systemic racism and various racial discrimination incidents in history by talking about and reading a book about racism with her five-year-old daughter. She shared, "After Charlottesville happened, we just happened to pick out our Rosa Parks book and there were pictures of the KKK. I was like, 'Oh, this just happened in our country, like today, you know, and these people, they don't like brown people.' And we had more discussion about it."

Promotion of diversity and inclusion. Participants voiced their desire to promote diversity when talking to their children about race and culture. Anna, a Korean American

mother, noted her disappointment when she saw a lack of cultural and racial diversity at her son's school, stating, "I don't want him to be kind of stuck in the tiny Korean American group. I want him to be more open and openminded and have more diverse friends." Lauren, a Chinese American mother who sends her eight-year-old daughter to a Mandarin immersion school, expressed her wish to engage her daughter in an extra-curricular activity to make more friends from diverse cultural backgrounds. She shared her experience of enrolling her older child in the Cub Scout program for diversity exposure, stating, "It was very difficult to get them to intermingle, but I made a huge effort to make that happen because I think that's very important for my children to enjoy diversity and be openminded." Also, Chrystal, a Korean American mother, reported that she made an effort to expand her five-year-old daughter's toy collections to "open her eyes to not just Barbies and blonde hair." She stated, "It is more important that we embrace our diversity and you know, and to teach our children that you can connect with others while you have something set apart from others." Kay, a Chinese American mother, also shared that she organized playdates for her six-year-old daughter with her friends from diverse cultural and racial backgrounds to teach her daughter about diversity and inclusion.

Intersectionality. Participants described their racial socialization practices within the intersection of religion and other cultural factors. Lauren, a Chinese American mother with Catholic faith, stated the following about her approach to explaining to her eight-year-old daughter about ways to deal with racial encounters:

I mean, just going back to the fundamentals of treating people the way that we want to be treated. You know, I draw upon our faith a lot, and that makes the conversations pretty straightforward and simple... Certain racial groups may behave this way, but it still, it

comes down to one simple thing. People are people, and this is the way that we should treat people. We have very faith-centered conversations, just like across the board.

Nancy, a Chinese/Taiwanese American mother who identified with Christianity, also shared her experience of talking to her five-year-old son about skin color differences based on her religious faith, stating, “We have talked about, like, how God made people of different skin colors, different hair colors, how we should appreciate the differences.” Chrystal, a Korean American mother with Christian faith, also reported, “I said we could all be different, but still we are the same. And we're still human. And you know, we're Christians. So, I do emphasize that God loves everyone just the same.”

Aside from incorporating religious faith into their racial socialization, Lauren also noted her approach to helping her daughter understand various cultural factors that influence what might seem like a racial issue. She stated, “Anytime I bring up race, I also bring up the socioeconomic factors that are kind of are associated with or might be associated with certain racial groups and point out the exceptions.”

Ambivalence about Racial Socialization

Although participants shared their unflagging efforts to teach their children about race and culture, they appeared to have an ambivalent attitude about racial socialization; they simultaneously presented the understanding of the value of racial socialization, while expressing concerns about practicing racial socialization. The subthemes that comprised of the theme of ambivalence about racial socialization included (a) value of racial socialization, (b) negative perceptions about racial socialization, and (c) political correctness.

Value of racial socialization. Participants spoke positively about racial socialization, emphasizing its helpfulness in promoting healthy identity. Chrystal, a Korean American mother,

viewed racial socialization as “necessary” and “a great way to instill pride.” Similarly, Olivia, a Korean American mother, spoke about the importance of verbal communication with her child about race, stating, “It just can't be about like implicit things like the dolls or making sure we watched Tiana... We have to actually talk about these things whenever we can.” Kay, a Chinese American mother, expressed her hopes about having more race-related conversation with her child, stating, “I just hope that, it is always like hard, race and ethnicity things like that, hard, I think, to discuss, but I hope that my husband and I at least try to have an open dialogue with our kids.”

Negative perceptions about racial socialization. Despite their understanding of the value of racial socialization, participants shared their negative perceptions about racial socialization. Anna, a Korean American mother, stated, “I don't want him to think about the kind of thing (referring to racial differences), at such an early age.” Chrystal, a Korean American mother, also shared a similar sentiment about race-related conversations possibly being “not child-appropriate.” Additionally, she also stated the following about how her family’s cultural value might have influenced their race-related conversations:

Yeah, like heavy topics like that (referring to race), I'm not sure if it's cultural thing that parents, but my parents just didn't discuss heavy topics like that with us... I think that my parents they didn't like to worry us... And I guess I'm like them when it comes to race talk. I sometimes wonder if it is better not to talk about it with her (referring to her daughter).

Lauren, a Chinese American mother, echoed a similar theme about racial socialization, speaking about how her parents’ adherence to negative racial stereotypes influenced the way she talked to her child about race:

I own a business, so if I hire someone and it doesn't work out, I point out all the reasons to my children, as to why this person was not a good fit for us, what I didn't like about, what this person did. And then I try to keep race out of it. Because I don't want them growing up thinking that certain racial groups are a certain way. I mean, that's exactly what my parents did and I don't want to instill any negative stereotypes about people of other races.

She added her sense of discomfort in engaging in conversation with her daughter in regard to racial phenotypic differences:

I noticed that when she does ask me things about people, usually centered around their, their appearance and then their race... I think it's, it's really difficult navigating with the kids. They are much more open, much more fluid, that they're not as locked in. But when they do notice things, they do clump them into, like racial groups. They just start with that.

Additionally, Kay, a Chinese American mother, noted her fears about race-related conversation leading to unnecessary awareness of racial inequality:

I think part of me, maybe, is hesitant to ask her because if it's not in her mind, and it hasn't happened, and she doesn't have a clue of what that is, I worry if I bring it up, I might be exposing her to something that hasn't yet happened. Maybe I don't want her to know. Yeah, even though we do talk about, like, inclusion and race and stuff, I just, I haven't asked her, like, 'Has someone specifically made fun of you because you're Asian or Chinese?' So yeah, I don't know.

Also, Olivia, a Korean American mother, shared her perception of race-related conversation as "private," stating, "I would not [talk about race] with my child if there is somebody else around

us, just because it might offend them. Just the way or the things we talk about.” She also added, “I find that just, in general, no one wants to talk about race. Even amongst the second gen[eration].”

Political correctness. Participants, often without awareness, appeared to experience discomfort in their observation of their child’s use of skin color-based racial labeling, especially when in public. Additionally, it appeared that some participants, during the interviews, chose to use the phrase “certain groups” to avoid calling out specific racial and ethnic groups using their describing terms, such as Black, White, Mexican, Latino/a, etc. Lauren, a Chinese American mother, spoke about her societal pressure to use politically correct racial terms that she was taught as an adult:

It was a little uncomfortable at first, but only because I’ve been ingrained in, you know, the proper politically correct way of identifying certain groups, like, African Americans, East Asians, Asians. And then you know, to a child, he’s either black or brown, she’s white, and you know. We’ve been trained as adults to not speak in those sort of terms, but for children, I mean, it is a label that, they haven’t been taught the associations with those particular terms or the appropriateness of certain terms.

Anna, a Korean American mother, spoke about her reaction to her son’s use of the word “black” in a description of his friend, stating, “He was saying Black and I just feel like, ‘Hey, you don’t have to, you know, say that he is Black or he is this...’ And I just like, teach him like, I didn’t want him to identify a person based on their color of their skin.”

Second Generation Experience

Participants expressed their unique sets of challenges as second-generation Asian American parents. The four subthemes that comprised this theme were (a) impact of

immigration, (b) lack of knowledge about ethnic culture, (c) struggle with ethnic identity, and (d) struggle with bicultural identity.

Impact of immigration. Racial-ethnic socialization involves intergenerational transmission of racial and cultural messages, which are interpreted through family members' own lenses of experiences as first-generation immigrants and second-generation Asian Americans. Participants noted the impact of immigration in their families with regard to the differences in their view toward different races and cultures. For example, Lauren, a Chinese American mother, reasoned the differences between her parents' and her racial ethnic socialization in the following way:

My parents have had a certain experience with certain groups, oh, I shouldn't say that, with certain individuals that gave them these negative impressions and made them not as open. And who knows, maybe if I had, had the same experiences, like not speaking English well and things like that, I would feel differently as well... Also, I went to college in a place that was extremely diverse, though it's a learned, you just get along with, you just learn to get along with people. But having certain, certain viewpoints that are not open and accepting, you're not gonna get along with people.

Chrystal, a Korean American mother, shared a similar viewpoint about how she understood her parents' prejudice and stereotypes against people of other races, focusing on the impact of their immigration experiences:

I want to say that my parents experienced a lot of discrimination when they, especially in Georgia. And my uncles were often beat up, you know, for being Asian and being different... It was their suffering back then. Racism was pretty bad... So I understand when we talk about race, it might be biased negatively and impacted by their negative

experience by it. Whereas I'm able to have more, more perspective on things because I experienced a lot of kindness and acceptance from other races and not so much of the discrimination part.

Additionally, Nancy, a Chinese/Taiwanese American mother, noted her parents having lack of knowledge about race-related issues in the United States. She perceived that her parents' lack of initiation in racial ethnic socialization stemmed from not knowing how to describe and understand their racial experiences, stating, "It is nice to have a label for it now (laughs), like microaggressions. Without understanding what that is, we just don't really, they can't really talk about it and talk about it openly."

Nancy also pointed out her parents' value of assimilation, contoured by white privilege, which resulted in lack of communication about heritage culture growing up:

I think my parents were definitely influenced by, like, white privilege and, and like the value of acculturation, like more acculturated the better you are, which I don't agree with. And, and as I'm reflecting on it, I think that's, that's why they didn't talk much about the Asian, Asian Chinese culture.

Similarly, Kay, a Chinese American mother, speculated that her parents' level of acculturation was a reason for lack of race-related communication in the family growing up. She stated, "They are not very traditional, like they are more acculturated, so they didn't really teach us about race and culture. I think, again, it is just melted to your upbringing in general."

Lack of knowledge about ethnic culture. As second-generation Asian Americans, participants noted their experiences of relying on their parents and external resources, e.g., language schools and churches, for most education about their heritage culture because of their perceived lack of knowledge about the heritage culture. Participants described their limited

knowledge about the history, traditions, and values which interfered with their effort to pass along their heritage culture to their children. For example, Chrystal, a Korean American mother, spoke about her limited knowledge and experience of her Korean culture, stating, “I was born and raised here so I myself don't quite know everything (laughs) and I know that I probably forgot a lot... So, it is only natural that my daughter, she's not gonna get much exposure than I did. I think, with each generation, culture gets diluted.”

Lauren, a Chinese American mother, shared her experience of looking up resources together with her eight-year-old daughter when she asked her questions about their heritage culture. She stated the following:

She learns a lot at school from her teachers about our culture and so we haven't. She actually knows more about our culture than I do at this point (laughs) about the Chinese culture and traditions. I'll try to answer her questions, but usually we just look it up because she asks pretty complex questions about traditions.

Struggle with ethnic identity. Participants noted their own struggle with their ethnic identity as second-generation Asian Americans. Olivia, a Korean American mother, recalled feeling embarrassed about her ethnic group membership, stating, “Before it was like, I wish I could blend in, or, in essence, be White. And how can I minimize my Koreanness because I'm so either anti-Korean or just like embarrassed.” She continued and noted her sense of shame attached to lacking fluency in Korean as a Korean American, stating, “It was like, well, you must not be Korean because you don't speak Korean.” Similarly, Anna, a Korean American mother, shared her experience of reflecting on her ethnic identity struggle as she observed that her son

was going into a similar path. Anna reflected further on her personal ethnic identity struggle and shared that it was helping her to better understand her child's identity struggle:

I didn't think he would be at the age where he would like, refuse to be like, doesn't want to associate with and deny his identity as Korean, but he was doing that, being anti-Korean and all. And, and I get where he is coming from, because I was like that and I was a kid thinking those things like, 'Oh, I don't want to be Korean. I'm American.'... I do let him know that we are, we are Korean um... I do want him to think differently than I did, though.

Struggle with bicultural identity. A theme of bicultural identity struggle emerged in participants' narratives. Nancy, a Chinese/Taiwanese American mother, spoke about her childhood experience of not fitting in, stating, "I definitely didn't fit in with the Asians, but I also didn't fit in with like the White kids, either." Anna, a Korean American mother of a six-year-old boy and a partner of an immigrant from South Korea, reported her struggle with grasping the idea of holding onto two cultural identities, stating, "My husband reminded me that, we might just be our own, you know, just Korean American and Asian American. But before, I just wanted to be American... and I still do sometimes. I feel more American than Korean because I grew up here and I speak English better." Olivia, a Korean American mother, also shared her struggle in balancing both American and Korean identities, stating, "When we were in [name of the country] we were still trying to upkeep our Americanness, you know. So I feel like Korean culture was, like, two, three things back." With regard to her bicultural identity, Olivia also shared her sense of "belonging on the fringe" when speaking about her experience of teaching bicultural identity to her five-year-old daughter, who shared a similar struggle with Korean identity. She stated the following:

She doesn't speak Korean, but she is Korean, you know. And being confused about that, just like I was. And helping her navigate, like, with not belonging. And how will I help my daughter understand, like, 'No, you're still Korean. I know you can't speak to them (referring to other Korean-speaking peers) during recess sometimes, but it doesn't mean that that's not who you are.' Like, having those kinds of conversations...

Anna, a Korean American mother, also shared a similar experience in teaching her six-year-old son about his bicultural identity, who is not fully grasping the idea that speaking only English doesn't necessarily change his Korean identity. She stated, "I tell him, 'You're American, but you're also Korean.' We have that discussion and he, I guess, he can't differentiate between like, an American and a lot of ethnicities. Korean is just Korean speakers to him."

Interview Process

During the follow-up interviews, participants reported their challenges in talking about race and culture with the interviewer, but also shared positive changes in their view about race- and culture-related communications. Two themes emerged: (a) fear and discomfort and (b) post interview growth.

Fear and discomfort. When asked about their thoughts and feelings about the interviews, participants reported their initial sense of fear and discomfort due to potential judgment from the interviewer. Anna, a Korean American mother, stated, "I felt kind of like I was snobby (laughs), like, in a sense that, like, 'Oh, I went to college and I had different friends who are not Korean, and I wanted to get outside of that.' I kind of felt bad, and thought, 'What if she (referring to the interviewer) thinks that I'm ethnically snobby?'" Lauren, a Chinese American mother, shared her initial sense of discomfort and spoke about her tendency to be self-conscious when talking about race-related issues due to "negativity ingrained within her mind"

about race talk, which resulted from her parents' prejudiced way of talking about other racial groups.

Post interview growth. Participants noted increased awareness and interest in racial ethnic socialization after the initial interview. They also shared their experiences of active racial-ethnic socialization after the initial interview. During the follow-up interview, Lauren reported her family discussion following a race-related incident that happened to her older child. She also noted her increased effort in acknowledging the race component of a race-related incident, stating, "We first laughed, but talked about how we could interpret this. We just jumped to that. And even my husband and I also now have this mindset that we first identify as race and we trickled down from there."

Additionally, Nancy expressed her interest in future racial ethnic socialization with her daughter, stating:

It's really interesting, because I think I didn't realize how little, it's been kind of on and off on my mind and it just came to the forefront about, like, how little I've thought through this... Even though I don't really have, like, a very developed sense of how I would communicate these things to my kid, but I'm definitely interested in knowing more about it, and, and finding more resources, and like, talk to my friends more about these things.

Chrystal also noted the conversation she had with her husband after the initial interview, discussing "the differences between discrimination, prejudice, and racist" and about "more nuanced racism," as well as "how the media influences our perceptions about other racial groups." She also reported her first conversation with her five-year-old daughter about systemic racism they heard from the radio. She reported:

There was a recent incident at Starbucks. You know, that was in the news about the two Black men that were arrested because the, you know, the owner called on them... And she was like, 'What? What does that mean?' You know? And I was like, So I just told her, told her straight up. I said, 'Two Black men got arrested just because they were sitting.' You know? And I explained to her and we talked about how that wasn't fair. You know, that's not right. And she, like a five-year-old, was like, 'Why did they do that? Why did the cops arrest? Are cops bad? They're, they're supposed to protect us.' So, we talked more, like I said, 'We all make mistakes,' and so on.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The purpose of the study was to gain an in-depth understanding about second generation East Asian American mothers' unique experiences and perceptions about race and racial-ethnic socialization. Guided by the family systems theory and the critical race theory, the present study aimed to focus its attention on the intergenerational influence on racial-ethnic socialization practices by exploring their experiences of racial-ethnic socialization, both as a child and as a parent. It also explored the interaction of various individual, interpersonal, and macrosystemic factors related to second-generation Asian American parents' experiential knowledge of race, racism, and culture within the family system. Six second-generation, East Asian American mothers participated in two individual interviews, which were comprised of the initial and follow-up interviews. The interviews prompted participants to reflect on their own upbringing with immigrant parents, as well as the ways in which they transmit certain values and beliefs about race, ethnicity, and culture to their child. The analysis resulted in seven overarching themes that described how East Asian American parents understand and practice racial-ethnic socialization with their children: (a) Asian American Experience of Race and Ethnicity, (b) Racial Ethnic Socialization as a Child, (c) Ethnic Socialization Experiences as a Parent, (d) Racial Socialization as a Parent, (e) Ambivalence about Racial Socialization, (f) Second Generation Experience, and (g) Interview Process. In this chapter, limitations of the present study are outlined and recommendations for future areas of research are explored.

Overview of the Results

The examination of intergenerational influence on racial-ethnic socialization practices is crucial, especially within Asian American families, because of the value of interdependence within the family (Park et al., 2010). Particularly, the second-generation Asian American mothers in this study noted their parents' active involvement in ethnic socialization for their children, which indicated the level of intergenerational influence on parenting practices and their communication about race, ethnicity, and culture. In this study, participants' experiences of racial-ethnic socialization as a child and as an adult suggested the intergenerational impact of immigration on Asian American families' (a) communication and non-communication about race and (b) ambivalence toward racial socialization.

With regard to parents' communication about race and culture, the results of the study suggested that participants received negative stereotypical messages about other racial groups from their immigrant parents, which promoted mistrust of people from other racial groups. The finding was supported by a previous study which highlighted that ethnic minority parents, especially those of Chinese descent, in comparison to parents with European backgrounds, tended to tell their children that certain racial/ethnic groups should not be trusted (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008). The second-generation mothers in the study interpreted the influence of immigration as a reason for negative parental messages about other racial groups. Participants appeared to understand that their parents experienced more severe or frequent racial discrimination because of their nativity status (Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008), which, in turn, emphasized the need for caution in interracial interactions. First-generation Asian immigrant parents' lack of experience in a racially and ethnically diverse society possibly led to mistrust of other racial groups (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008). On the other hand, immigrant parents might have

been exposed to the hierarchical order of races that is prevalent in the United States back in their country of origin, well before immigration, having stereotypes and prejudices against people of other races, which then led to a preference for in-group connections (Fennel, 2013).

Participants' experiences of negative parental messages about other racial groups had an influence on their perceptions of race-related conversations with their own children. More specifically, parental concerns about transmitting negative racial stereotypes in their racial socialization efforts appeared to diminish organic opportunities to facilitate constructive race-related communication with their children. Participants in the study valued the importance of racial socialization, many of them describing their experiences of conversations about race with their children, which is a significant contrast to the ways in which their parents communicated about race with them. However, participants also expressed fear of instilling ideas about racial inequality and racial discrimination by opening up lines of communication about race. This fear might have resulted from their immigrant parents' racial socialization practices, producing doubt and worries within the goal of racial socialization. Additionally, participants' experiences of internal conflict following their parents' negative messages toward outgroups, coupled with the cultural value of filial piety, might have prevented open, interactive race-related communication within the dynamics of immigrant parents and second-generation children. The value of filial piety has weakened in modern society, while the value of work and smaller family size has increased (Lum et al., 2016). It is evident, however, that the idea of parental authority and child obedience has shaped second-generation participants' childhood interactions with their parents. Because of the hierarchical structure of Asian society, Asian American children could not always speak their minds directly to their parents, but their parents could express their thoughts in a rather straightforward way to their children, resulting in only

one-way direct communication within the family. This hierarchical pattern of communication limited the opportunities for second-generation children to understand, early on, how their immigrant parents came to develop such negative views toward outgroups. Also, these children could not share with their parents how their own racial experiences had been similar or different. The lack of two-way communication about race may have particularly influenced second-generation participants' ambivalence and fear about race-related communication with their children, because of the uncertainty of how race-related communication might play out in their parent-child dynamics.

In addition to discussing the effects of parental communication about race, participants also noted the impact of silence and non-communication about race in childhood. They noted, in detail, the possible influence of immigration on their parents' non-communication, which was brought to their awareness after their childhood. Experience of immigration brings numerous changes to family, in terms of adjustment to their minority status and understanding the systemic racial hierarchy and power dynamics in the new society, i.e., between White culture and heritage culture, and Asian American status within minority groups. Participants also spoke about assimilation demands from their families, which might have promoted a dominant ideology of colorblindness, leading to minimization of racial experiences that were already difficult for immigrant parents to comprehend. As a result, non-communication about race transmitted an implicit message that race-related communication is insignificant, leading to participants' belief that race-related communication is difficult to facilitate or inappropriate for children. The transmitted perception that prevented participants from feeling comfortable about racial-ethnic socialization might be related to an inherited colorblind ideology that de-emphasized their racial identities and experiences as a racial minority.

Moreover, participants' narratives about their childhood experiences of race-related communication with their parents imply that it has had limited focus in conversations about their own race. Parental non-communication about race – and more specifically, about the Asian race – might stem from the lack of experience and understanding of the Asian race in the United States. Even though they might have experienced it on a daily basis, newly immigrated parents of Asian descent may have had limited opportunities to develop awareness of the experience of Asian Americans that comes with such racial political label including, but not limited to, the model minority myth, tensions with other racial minority groups, and diversity within the racial category. The racial term “Asian” in particular has encompassed a variety of divergent Asian ethnic groups, which makes it difficult for first-generation immigrant parents to relate to, because of their valuing of their ethnic identity and maintaining their ethnic culture (Kibria, 2000). Thus, the concept of “Asian identity” or “Asian American identity” might have had limited meaning for first-generation immigrant parents. The pan-Asian identity and the plurality embedded in the racial label “Asian” might not have been fully embraced by the immigrant parents, which then influenced their children's understanding of their own racial and ethnic identities.

The effect of parental non-communication on the practice of second-generation racial-ethnic socialization was two-fold: (a) leading to increased motivation to do more racial socialization, or (b) avoiding racial socialization, due to negative perceptions and worries about race-related conversation. Some parents in the study acknowledged their understanding of the importance of race-related communication with their children and highlighted the influence of their childhood experiences of non-communication on their increased motivation for active, intentional racial-ethnic socialization. Heightened motivation might also have been aided by

their awareness of their racial and ethnic identities, and of their race-related experiences. In contrast to their parents' limited knowledge and awareness of race-related issues, second-generation parents have the knowledge, experience, and motivation to recognize and understand their personal racial experiences and other systemic racial incidents that target minorities in general. Immigrant parents' non-communication and participants' lack of racial socialization experiences in childhood allowed second-generation parents to see the importance of racial-ethnic socialization in their interactions with their children.

As much as second-generation parents tried to facilitate race-related communication with their children, it appeared that the pattern of their childhood experiences of non-communication still influenced their current ambivalent views toward racial socialization. Participants' narratives made clear their views of race-related conversation as "uncomfortable" and "not child-appropriate," leading them to refrain from taking a proactive stance in race-related communication with their children. It is important to note that participants in this study shared their experiences of racial-ethnic socialization with their children ages five to eight, who had just started to communicate their interest in racial and ethnic differences. Also, five out of six participants were first-time mothers, which might explain their limited experience with and knowledge about racial socialization. Given the children's age range, it is understandable that parents were concerned about the child appropriateness of race-related conversations. Nonetheless, all six participants shared their experiences of engaging in race-related conversation elicited by their children, e.g., the child's experience of racial discrimination, and race-related inquiries from the child, which demonstrate that these children are more than capable of recognizing racial differences and discussing racial issues with their parents (Bigler, Averhart, & Liben, 2003).

Aside from participants' ambivalent views toward racial socialization, the added social pressure of political correctness prevented their natural participation in race-related conversation that would fulfill the goal of raising a socially conscious child. For example, participants' avoidance of directly labeling racial groups in their conversation, or their discouragement of their children using skin color-based racial terms in public, might unintentionally deliver a message that talking about race is offensive. Political correctness might have narrowed their potential range of conversation, putting boundaries around children's natural curiosity and exploration of race and racial differences at young age. The burdens and limitations of political correctness resulted in parental discomfort, which in turn, hindered their children from speaking about racial differences and prevented genuine conversation about racial differences as a family, which is actually contrary to their desire for open communication with their children.

Participants in the present study revealed unique characteristics of racial-ethnic socialization practiced by second-generation Asian American parents. These parents, similar to their first-generation immigrant parents, practiced proactive ethnic socialization, to promote cultural appreciation and healthy ethnic identity development. Participants expressed concern about their lack of experience and knowledge in cultural traditions, history, and language. However, participants actively employed external resources, e.g., language school and grandparents, to help their children acquire cultural knowledge, experience, and identity. This finding was supported by the second-generation dilemma mentioned in the study of Juang, Park, Kim, Lee, Qin, Okazaki, Swartz, and Lau (2018), indicating second-generation Asian American parents' difficulties in passing along heritage culture due to their perceived lack of knowledge in their heritage culture.

Additionally, second-generation parents in this study shared their race-related communication that involved messages about racial discrimination. In contrast to their immigrant parents, second-generation parents emphasized preparing their children for racial bias and discrimination. Participants in the study shared their experience of internalized racism and lack of communication about race-related issues growing up, which led them to value parental messages and involvement in preparing their children for potential bias and discrimination. The racial discrimination experience of the second-generation Asian Americans appeared to be significant, having a great impact on parenting. Based on their experience, awareness, and knowledge about their personal and societal racism, second-generation parents were more active in informing their children about potential racial discrimination and teaching them how to deal with racism in everyday life.

Moreover, participants' narratives evidenced the second-generation parents' emphasis on promotion of diversity and inclusion in their parenting efforts. Participants in the study actively sought out ways to increase diversity exposure for their children and to teach them to value inclusion. The finding shares similarities to second-generation Asian American parents in Juang et al.'s (2018) study emphasizing diversity and inclusion with the perception of their children as "global citizens." The parenting emphasis on diversity doubtlessly reflects the needs of our society at present. This broad focus on diversity, however, might function as a mechanism to minimize race, racial differences, and racial injustice, unintentionally transmitting the colorblind ideology so prevalent in contemporary society.

Another noteworthy finding about second-generation parents' racial-ethnic socialization involved their struggles with bicultural identity. Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, and Morris (2002) defined biculturalism as the experience of having or internalizing two cultures, usually one's

ethnic heritage culture and the mainstream culture. They also indicated that individuals with low integration feel conflicted between their two cultural identities and prefer to keep them separate, while individuals with high bicultural identity integration perceive their two cultural identities as largely compatible and complementary (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002). Some second-generation Asian American parents in the present study noted their lack of healthy integration of both ethnic and American identities growing up, while, more positively, their difficulties allowed them to better understand their children's struggles in the bicultural identity development process. According to participants' narratives about their race- and culture-related communication in childhood, parental encouragement about assimilation into the mainstream culture often came at the expense of their ethnic traditions and values. A sense of cultural conflict caused by the parental message may have arisen in the face of ethnic/racial discrimination from the mainstream American group, as it may be difficult for bicultural individuals to embrace the very culture that perpetuates discrimination against their cultural group (Choi, Tan, Yasui, & Pekelnicky, 2014). Additionally, the second-generation parents' experiences of foreigner objectification presumably posed an added challenge to their bicultural identity integration, leaving them with a sense of not belonging anywhere. As a result, participants' struggles with bicultural identity presumably led to limited, succinct conversations about it with their children, not being fully confident to emphasize the value of both cultures.

Implications for Theory and Practice

The findings of the present study have several implications for theory and practice. First, the themes that emerged in the study highlighted the intergenerational influence of immigration, racism, and cultural values on racial-ethnic socialization practices within Asian American families. Although several studies pointed out the aforementioned factors in the lives of Asian

immigrants, few studies indicated the intergenerational influences on the second-generation individuals. In-depth investigation of the intergenerational similarities and differences in racial-ethnic socialization of East Asian American families allowed for a rich understanding, within a systemic paradigm, of both micro-level factors (e.g., family interaction, parental roles) and macrosystemic factors (e.g., race, racial/ethnic minority status) that influenced racial-ethnic socialization practices. Family is the primary system to which humans belong, and its influence on racial and ethnic minority groups is even more profound, due to its members sharing and coexisting in the experience of being a cultural minority. This study shed light on how family, race, and culture played out in the lives of East Asian American parents of young children and in their intergenerational communication with their children about race. The research and theory on second-generation Asian American racial-ethnic socialization need to attend to the intergenerational influence of immigration, racism, and cultural values as important factors in understanding the challenges and motivation for racial-ethnic socialization practices.

From a practice standpoint, this qualitative study provided useful information regarding racial-ethnic socialization practices of East Asian American parents of young children, who grappled with various challenges as they strived to navigate their own and their children's identities in a racialized society. The findings provided insight into potential parenting challenges of second-generation Asian Americans in terms of understanding and resolving their own or their children's race- and culture-related issues. Due to various individual, interpersonal, and sociocultural factors, some parents may avoid any mention of racial and ethnic differences, while others actively engage the whole family in cultural activities and discussions about race. The findings from the unique familial experiences and perspectives of East Asian American parents have the potential to substantially inform helping professionals, such as psychologists,

teachers, social workers, and parent educators to understand the special needs of East Asian American parents and the unique challenges and benefits of racial-ethnic socialization in this community.

Additionally, participants' narratives about post-interview growth highlighted the crucial importance of continued dialogues about one's upbringing, familial cultural values, and personal and systemic race- and culture-related issues. Participants indicated that these topics were often perceived as "private" and "uncomfortable" to talk about, even with close friends and their children. However, they reported increased awareness, interest, and motivation after the initial interview to talk to their children about race and culture. The interview process of exploring their own experiences in regard to their familial communication about race and culture provided an opportunity for them to connect their childhood experiences to their current parenting practices and to explore what more is needed in their families in terms of race and culture-related communication. Also, the process of their sharing this communication in an interview setting might have eased them into talking with their families about a topic deemed "private" or "uncomfortable." Overall, their participation in the interviews helped them find a way to naturally integrate racial-ethnic socialization into their parenting without demanding much effort, raising awareness about the importance of continued efforts in racial-ethnic socialization with their children.

This finding has significant implications for helping professionals and parent educators in finding ways in which they can promote healthy racial-ethnic socialization. Also, the findings suggest the need for additional resources, e.g., children's books, parent seminars, and parent support groups, to facilitate healthy, constructive racial dialogues within Asian American families. As children gain a greater understanding of their identities and awareness of their racial

experiences, Asian American children may seek out community or peer support within and outside of their communities, strengthening their racial and bicultural identities and enhancing their sense of connectedness with people from other groups.

Limitations of the Study

There were several limitations to the study. First, although the study restricted the sample to East Asian American parents whose parents and children share the same race and ethnicity, it did not restrict the sample to a particular ethnicity. Different ethnic groups within the East Asian American community may differ from one another in terms of their cultural values, reasons for immigration, and acculturation process, which could potentially have a noticeable influence on their parenting practices and communication patterns with their children. Also, the sample did not include parents of Japanese and Hong Kong Chinese descent, failing to represent all East Asian groups the study originally intended to recruit.

Second, the analysis of the data did not fully address various demographic factors that could have affected participants' racial-ethnic socialization practices. A more comprehensive investigation of various contextual factors, such as socioeconomic background, education, parent-child relationship qualities, and geographic background, would have added uniqueness to their stories.

Third, the present study attempted to maximize trustworthiness of the data by providing a clear articulation of research methods, sufficient quantity of the data, balance between researcher reflexivity and subjectivity, and inclusion of participant feedback in the data collection and analysis through follow-up interviews. Nonetheless, implementation of a more rigorous validity check, such as peer debriefing and negative case analysis, would have better ensured the

trustworthiness of the data, proposing alternative interpretations and perspectives to those of the research investigator (Morrow, 2005).

Fourth, due to the voluntary nature of the study, the sample included parents who were more likely interested in this topic and aware of how their upbringings influenced their race- and culture-related communication. Further, the sample was not demographically diverse; participants were from middle to upper middle class which allowed for access to resources. Also, all participants were parents in heterosexual two-parent families, not representing the wide variety of parental roles and family types. Moreover, only mothers volunteered for the study, although both male and female parents were encouraged to participate. Several mothers contacted the research investigator to inform her of their interests in their eligible partners' participation in the study; however, their interests were not followed through and there was lack of direct contact from interested male participants. A study on Chinese Canadian parenting indicated that the observed egalitarian approach to parenting that encouraged active father involvement did not necessarily grant equal co-parenting power to Chinese Canadian fathers (Chuang & Su, 2009). This finding suggests that even in more Westernized Asian American households, parents tend to abide by the traditional parenting culture where fathers tend to be "helpers" who are expected to do what is requested by mothers when it comes to how they want to talk to their children about race and culture. This rather passive stance in parental decision making may lead to less active participation in parenting-related discussion amongst fathers. Additionally, lack of male participation may be due to the researcher being female, which might have influenced who was willing to talk to the researcher. For future studies that target both female and male caretakers, it is recommended that the researcher develop various strategies to recruit male participants, e.g., inclusion of a male researcher for participant recruitment and

interviews, in order to encourage father participation and to hear about father perspectives on racial-ethnic socialization practices with young children.

Directions for Future Research

Future research could highlight similarities and differences among all major caretakers' parenting goals and practices regarding racial-ethnic socialization. For example, one participant in the present study shared her experience of conflict with her parenting partner with regard to talking about race in public, which might have influenced her racial socialization practices with her child. Also, given the grandparent involvement in child care and ethnic socialization in the sample, further exploration of caretakers' negotiation of differences in racial-ethnic socialization style would be informative in Asian American parenting studies. Additionally, future studies may find valuable information about Asian American racial-ethnic socialization by exploring racial-ethnic socialization from peers.

Moreover, intersectionality of gender and race would be an interesting topic for Asian American racial-ethnic socialization. More specifically, potential differences in mother-daughter, mother-son, father-daughter, and father-son dynamics would provide important information about how Asian American parents practice racial-ethnic socialization in opposite- or same-sex parent-child relationships and how their gendered beliefs affect their racial-ethnic socialization practices. Additionally, it might be valuable to explore how one's own view about one's racial/ethnic group membership, as well as one's sense of internalized racism, would affect the parents' race- and culture-related conversations with their children.

Lastly, the findings of this research suggest a need for further research on Asian American parenting and bicultural identity. Bicultural identity is a crucial component of self-concept for many ethnic minority group members. Individuals' bicultural identity represents

their internalized understanding of the diverse cultures in which they participate (Cheng et al., 2008), and individuals can vary in the degree to which they integrate their mainstream and ethnic identities. Second-generation Asian American parents, with their own experience of successes and challenges in their bicultural identity integration process, may be able to provide valuable information about their parenting goals, strategies, and hardships in promoting healthy bicultural identity for their children.

References

- Almeida, D. M., Wethington, E., & Chandler, A. L. (1999). Daily transmission of tensions between marital dyads and parent-child dyads. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 61, 49-61. <https://doi.org/10.2307/353882>
- Alvarez, A. N., Juang, L., & Liang, C. T. (2006). Asian Americans and racism: When bad things happen to "model minorities." *Cultural diversity and ethnic minority psychology*, 12, 477-492. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.12.3.477>
- Becvar, R. J., Becvar, D. S., & Bender, A. E. (1982). Let us first do no harm. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 8, 385-391. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1752-0606.1982.tb01464.x>
- Benet-Martínez, V., Leu, J., Lee, F., & Morris, M. W. (2002). Negotiating biculturalism: Cultural frame switching in biculturals with oppositional versus compatible cultural identities. *Journal of Cross-cultural psychology*, 33, 492-516. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022102033005005>
- Benner, A. D., & Kim, S. Y. (2009). Experiences of discrimination among Chinese American adolescents and the consequences for socioemotional and academic development. *Developmental psychology*, 45, 1682-1694. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016119>
- Berger, R. (2015). Now I see it, now I don't: Researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 15, 219-234. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794112468475>
- Bernard, H. R. (2002). *Research methods in anthropology* (3rd ed.). Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press.

- Bigler, R. S., Averhart, C. J., & Liben, L. S. (2003). Race and the workforce: Occupational status, aspirations, and stereotyping among African American children. *Developmental Psychology*, 39, 572-580. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.39.3.572>
- Bowen, M. (1974). Alcoholism as viewed through family systems theory and family psychotherapy. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 233, 115-122. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.1974.tb40288.x>
- Bradbury-Jones, C. (2007). Enhancing rigour in qualitative health research: exploring subjectivity through Peshkin's I's. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 59, 290-298. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04306.x>
- Brody, G. H., Chen, Y. F., Murry, V. M., Ge, X., Simons, R. L., Gibbons, F. X., Gerrard, M. & Cutrona, C. E. (2006). Perceived discrimination and the adjustment of African American youths: a five-year longitudinal analysis with contextual moderation effects. *Child development*, 77, 1170-1189. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00927.x>
- Caughy, M. O. B., O'campo, P. J., & Muntaner, C. (2004). Experiences of racism among African American parents and the mental health of their preschool-aged children. *American Journal of Public Health*, 94, 2118-2124. <https://doi.org/10.2105/ajph.94.12.2118>
- Cheng, J. K. Y., Fancher, T. L., Ratanasen, M., Conner, K. R., Duberstein, P. R., Sue, S., & Takeuchi, D. (2010). Lifetime suicidal ideation and suicide attempts in Asian Americans. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 1, 18-30. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018799>
- Cheng, C. Y., Sanders, M., Sanchez-Burks, J., Molina, K., Lee, F., Darling, E., & Zhao, Y.

- (2008). Reaping the rewards of diversity: The role of identity integration. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 2(3), 1182-1198. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2008.00103.x>
- Cheung, C. K., Lee, J. J., & Chan, C. M. (1994). Explicating filial piety in relation to family cohesion. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, 9, 565-580.
- Choi, Y. (2008). Diversity within: Subgroup differences of youth problem behaviors among Asian Pacific Islander American adolescents. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 36, 352-370. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20196>
- Choi, Y. (2014). Moving forward: Asian Americans in the discourse of race and social problems. *Race and social problems*, 6(1), 1-3. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-014-9113-6>
- Choi, Y., Tan, K. P. H., Yasui, M., & Pekelnicky, D. D. (2014). Race–ethnicity and culture in the family and youth outcomes: Test of a path model with Korean American youth and parents. *Race and social problems*, 6(1), 69-84. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-014-9111-8>
- Chuang, S. S., & Su, Y. (2009). Says who?: Decision-making and conflicts among Chinese-Canadian and Mainland Chinese parents of young children. *Sex roles*, 60, 527-536. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9537-9>
- Creswell, J. W. (1994). Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Crouter, A. C., Baril, M. E., Davis, K. D., & McHale, S. M. (2008). Processes Linking Social Class and Racial Socialization in African American Dual-Earner Families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 70, 1311-1325. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2008.00568.x>

- Delgado, R. (1989). Storytelling for oppositionists and others: A plea for narrative. *Michigan Law Review*, 87, 2411-2441. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1289308>
- Demo, D. H., & Hughes, M. (1990). Socialization and racial identity among Black Americans. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 53, 364-374. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2786741>
- Else-Quest, N. M., & Morse, E. (2015). Ethnic variations in parental ethnic socialization and adolescent ethnic identity: A longitudinal study. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 21, 54-64. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037820>
- Fennell, V. L. (2013). Race: China's question and problem. *The Review of Black Political Economy*, 40, 245-275. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12114-013-9160-z>
- Gee, G. C., Ro, A., Shariff-Marco, S., & Chae, D. (2009). Racial discrimination and health among Asian Americans: evidence, assessment, and directions for future research. *Epidemiologic reviews*, 31, 130-151. <https://doi.org/10.1093/epirev/mxp009>
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Behavior in public place*. New York: Free Press.
- Gupta, A., Szymanski, D. M., & Leong, F. T. (2011). The “model minority myth”: Internalized racialism of positive stereotypes as correlates of psychological distress, and attitudes toward help-seeking. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 2, 101-114. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0024183>
- Gushue, G. V. (2004). Race, Color-Blind Racial Attitudes, and Judgments About Mental Health: A Shifting Standards Perspective. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 51, 398-407. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.51.4.398>
- Howard-Hamilton, M. F. (2003). Theoretical frameworks for African American women. *New Directions for Student Services*, 104, 19-27. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ss.104>

- Hughes, D. (2003). Correlates of African American and Latino parents' messages to children about ethnicity and race: A comparative study of racial socialization. *American journal of community psychology*, 31, 15-33. <https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1023066418688>
- Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race-related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental Science*, 1, 200-214. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532480xads0104_4
- Hughes, D., & Johnson, D. (2001). Correlates in children's experiences of parents' racial socialization behaviors. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63, 981-995. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2001.00981.x>
- Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental psychology*, 42, 747-770. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.42.5.747>
- Huynh, V. W., & Fuligni, A. J. (2008). Ethnic socialization and the academic adjustment of adolescents from Mexican, Chinese, and European backgrounds. *Developmental psychology*, 44, 1202-1208. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.44.4.1202>
- Hwang, W. C., & Goto, S. (2009). The impact of perceived racial discrimination on the mental health of Asian American and Latino college students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 14, 326-335. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.14.4.326>
- Juang, L. P., & Alvarez, A. A. (2010). Discrimination and adjustment among Chinese American adolescents: Family conflict and family cohesion as vulnerability and protective factors. *American Journal of Public Health*, 100, 2403-2409. <https://doi.org/10.2105/ajph.2009.185959>

- Juang, L. P., & Alvarez, A. N. (2011). Family, school, and neighborhood: Links to Chinese American adolescent perceptions of racial/ethnic discrimination. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 2(1), 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023107>
- Juang, L. P., Park, I., Kim, S. Y., Lee, R. M., Qin, D., Okazaki, S., Swartz, T. T. & Lau, A. (2018). Reactive and proactive ethnic–racial socialization practices of second-generation Asian American parents. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 9 (1), 4. <https://doi.org/10.1037/aap0000101>
- Juang, L. P., Shen, Y., Kim, S. Y., & Wang, Y. (2016). Development of an Asian American parental racial–ethnic socialization scale. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 22, 417-431. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000083>
- Katz, P. A., & Kofkin, J. A. (1997). Race, gender, and young children. In S. S. Luthar, J. A. Burack, D. Cicchetti, & J. R. Weisz (Eds.), *Developmental psychopathology: Perspectives on adjustment, risk, and disorder*, 51-74. New York : Cambridge University Press.
- Kibria, N. (2000). Race, ethnic options, and ethnic binds: Identity negotiations of second-generation Chinese and Korean Americans. *Sociological perspectives*, 43, 77-95. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1389783>
- Kim, P. Y., & Lee, D. (2014). Internalized model minority myth, Asian values, and help-seeking attitudes among Asian American students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 20, 98-106. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033351>
- Kim, B. K., Li, L. C., & Ng, G. F. (2005). The Asian American values scale--multidimensional: development, reliability, and validity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 11, 187-201. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.11.3.187>

- Kim, B. S., & Park, Y. S. (2008). East and Southeast Asian Americans. In G. McAuliffe (Ed.), *Culturally alert counseling: A comprehensive introduction*, 189-219. Los Angeles, CA: Sage. <https://doi.org/10.1037/e675022010-001>
- Knight, G. P., Bernal, M. E., Garza, C. A., Cota, M. K., & Ocampo, K. A. (1993). Family socialization and the ethnic identity of Mexican-American children. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 24, 99-114. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022193241007>
- Kwak, K. (2003). Adolescents and their parents: A review of intergenerational family relations for immigrant and non-immigrant families. *Human Development*, 46, 115-136. <https://doi.org/10.1159/000068581>
- Lee, R. M. (2003). Do ethnic identity and other-group orientation protect against discrimination for Asian Americans?. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 50, 133-141. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.50.2.133>
- Lee, R. M. (2005). Resilience against discrimination: Ethnic identity and other-group orientation as protective factors for Korean Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52, 36-44. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.52.1.36>
- Lee, R. M., Grotevant, H. D., Hellerstedt, W. L., & Gunnar, M. R. (2006). Cultural socialization in families with internationally adopted children. *Journal of family psychology*, 20, 571-580. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.20.4.571>
- Lee, S., Juon, H. S., Martinez, G., Hsu, C. E., Robinson, E. S., Bawa, J., & Ma, G. X. (2009). Model minority at risk: Expressed needs of mental health by Asian American young adults. *Journal of community health*, 34, 144-152. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10900-008-9137-1>
- Lesane-Brown, C. L. (2006). A review of race socialization within Black families.

Developmental Review, 26, 400-426. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2006.02.001>

Lewis, A. E. (2001). There is no “race” in the schoolyard: Color-blind ideology in an (almost) all-white school. *American Educational Research Journal*, 38, 781-811.

<https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312038004781>

Li, G. (2005). Other people's success: Impact of the "model minority" myth on underachieving Asian students in North America. *KEDI Journal of Educational Policy*, 2, 69-86.

Liang, C. T., Li, L. C., & Kim, B. S. (2004). The Asian American racism-related stress inventory: Development, factor analysis, reliability, and validity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 51, 103-114. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.51.1.103>

Lum, T. Y., Yan, E. C., Ho, A. H., Shum, M. H., Wong, G. H., Lau, M. M., & Wang, J. (2016). Measuring filial piety in the 21st century: Development, factor structure, and reliability of the 10-item contemporary filial piety scale. *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, 35, 1235-1247. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0733464815570664>

Marshall, S. (1995). Ethnic socialization of African American children: Implications for parenting, identity development, and academic achievement. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 24, 377-396. <https://doi.org/10.1007/bf01537187>

Matsuda, M. (1991). Voices of America; Accent, antidiscrimination law, and a jurisprudence for the last reconstruction. *Yale Law Journal*, 100, 1329-1407. <https://doi.org/10.2307/796694>

McGowan, M. O., & Lindgren, J. (2006). Testing the model minority myth. *Northwestern University Law Review*, 100, 331-378.

- Miller, M. J., Yang, M., Farrell, J. A., & Lin, L. L. (2011). Racial and cultural factors affecting the mental health of Asian Americans. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 81, 489-497. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-0025.2011.01118.x>
- Morrow, S. L. (2005). Quality and trustworthiness in qualitative research in counseling psychology. *Journal of counseling psychology*, 52, 250-260. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.250>
- Moustakas, C. (1994). Phenomenological research methods. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Nagata, D. K., & Cheng, W. J. (2003). Intergenerational communication of race-related trauma by Japanese American former internees. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 73, 266-278. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0002-9432.73.3.266>
- Neblett, E. W., Philip, C. L., Cogburn, C. D., & Sellers, R. M. (2006). African American adolescents' discrimination experiences and academic achievement: Racial socialization as a cultural compensatory and protective factor. *Journal of Black psychology*, 32, 199-218. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798406287072>
- Ng, F. (1998). The Sojourner, return migration, and immigration history. In F. Ng (Ed.), *The History and Immigration of Asian Americans* (pp. 87-105). New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.
- Noh, S., & Kaspar, V. (2003). Perceived discrimination and depression: Moderating effects of coping, acculturation, and ethnic support. *American journal of public health*, 93, 232-238. <https://doi.org/10.2105/ajph.93.2.232>
- Park, Y. S., & Kim, B. S. (2008). Asian and European American cultural values and communication styles among Asian American and European American college

- students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 14, 47-56.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.14.1.47>
- Park, Y. S., Kim, B. S., Chiang, J., & Ju, C. M. (2010). Acculturation, enculturation, parental adherence to Asian cultural values, parenting styles, and family conflict among Asian American college students. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 1, 67-79.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018961>
- Phinney, J. S., & Chavira, V. (1995). Parental ethnic socialization and adolescent coping with problems related to ethnicity. *Journal of research on adolescence*, 5, 31-53.
https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327795jra0501_2
- Ponterotto, J. G. (2005). Qualitative research in counseling psychology: A primer on research paradigms and philosophy of science. *Journal of counseling psychology*, 52, 126-136.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.126>
- Pyke, K., & Dang, T. (2003). “FOB” and “whitewashed”: Identity and internalized racism among second generation Asian Americans. *Qualitative Sociology*, 26, 147-172.
- Reid, K., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2005). Exploring lived experience. *The Psychologist*, 18, 20-23.
- Sadler, G. R., Lee, H. C., Lim, R. S. H., & Fullerton, J. (2010). Recruitment of hard-to-reach population subgroups via adaptations of the snowball sampling strategy. *Nursing & health sciences*, 12, 369-374. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1442-2018.2010.00541.x>
- Schwandt, T. A. (1994). Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 118–137). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Scottham, K. M., & Smalls, C. P. (2009). Unpacking racial socialization: Considering female African American primary caregivers' racial identity. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71, 807-818. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2009.00636.x>
- Sinclair, S., Dunn, E., & Lowery, B. (2005). The relationship between parental racial attitudes and children's implicit prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 41, 283-289. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2004.06.003>
- Smith, J. A., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14780880903340091>
- Smith, J.A., Jarman, M. & Osborne, M. (1999). Doing Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. In M. Murray & K. Chamberlain (Eds.), *Qualitative Health Psychology: Theories and Methods*. London: Sage. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446217870.n14>
- Smith, J. A., & Osborn, M. (2008). Interpretative phenomenological analysis. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (pp. 53-80). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Solórzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2001). From racial stereotyping and deficit discourse toward a critical race theory in teacher education. *Multicultural education*, 9, 2-8.
- Solórzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2002). Critical race methodology: Counter-storytelling as an analytical framework for education research. *Qualitative inquiry*, 8, 23-44.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040200800103>
- Spencer, M. B. (1983). Children's cultural values and parental child rearing strategies. *Developmental Review*, 3, 351-370.

- Stanton, M. (2009). The systemic epistemology of family psychology. In J. H. Bray & M. Stanton (Eds.), *Handbook of family psychology* (pp. 5–20). Oxford, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell. doi: 10.1002/9781444310238.ch1
- Steinberg, L., & Morris, A. S. (2001). Adolescent development. *Annual review of psychology*, 52, 83-110. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.52.1.83>
- Stevenson, H. C., & Arrington, E. G. (2009). Racial/ethnic socialization mediates perceived racism and the racial identity of African American adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 15, 125-136. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015500>
- Sue, D. W. (1973). Ethnic identity: The impact of two cultures on the psychological development of Asians in America. In D. W. Sue (Ed.), *Asian-Americans: psychological perspectives* (pp. 140-149). Palo Alto, CA: Science and Behavior Books.
- Sue, D. W. (1994). Asian-American mental health and help-seeking behavior. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 41, 292–295. <https://doi.org/10.1037//0022-0167.41.3.292>
- Sue, D. W., Bucci, J., Lin, A. I., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. (2009). Racial microaggressions and the Asian American experience. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 1, 88-101. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1948-1985.s.1.88>
- Tran, A. G., & Lee, R. M. (2010). Perceived ethnic–racial socialization, ethnic identity, and social competence among Asian American late adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 16, 169-178. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016400>
- Van Ijzendoorn, M. H. (1992). Intergenerational transmission of parenting: A review of studies in nonclinical populations. *Developmental review*, 12, 76-99. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0273-2297\(92\)90004-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/0273-2297(92)90004-1)

- Vargas, L. A., & Koss-Chioino, J. D. (1992). *Working with culture: Psychotherapeutic interventions with ethnic minority children and adolescents*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Vittrup, B., & Holden, G. W. (2010). Children's assessments of corporal punishment and other disciplinary practices: The role of age, race, SES, and exposure to spanking. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 31*, 211-220.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2009.11.003>
- Williams, E. N., & Morrow, S. L. (2009). Achieving trustworthiness in qualitative research: A pan-paradigmatic perspective. *Psychotherapy Research, 19*, 576-582.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10503300802702113>
- Wong, F., & Halgin, R. (2006). The "model minority": bane or blessing for Asian Americans?. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 34*, 38-49.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1912.2006.tb00025.x>
- Yasui, M. (2015). A review of the empirical assessment of processes in ethnic-racial socialization: Examining methodological advances and future areas of development. *Developmental Review, 37*, 1-40. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2015.03.001>
- Yi, C. C., Chang, C. F., & Chang, Y. H. (2004). The intergenerational transmission of family values: A comparison between teenagers and parents in Taiwan. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 35*, 523-545.
- Ying, Y. W., Lee, P. A., & Tsai, J. L. (2000). Cultural orientation and racial discrimination: Predictors of coherence in Chinese American young adults. *Journal of Community Psychology, 28*, 427-441. [https://doi.org/10.1002/1520-6629\(200007\)28:4<427::aid-jcop5>3.0.co;2-f](https://doi.org/10.1002/1520-6629(200007)28:4<427::aid-jcop5>3.0.co;2-f)

- Yip, T., Gee, G. C., & Takeuchi, D. T. (2008). Racial discrimination and psychological distress: the impact of ethnic identity and age among immigrant and United States-born Asian adults. *Developmental psychology*, 44, 787-800. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.44.3.787>
- Yoo, H. C., & Lee, R. M. (2005). Ethnic identity and approach-type coping as moderators of the racial discrimination/well-being relation in Asian Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52, 497-506. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.52.4.497>

Appendix A

Letter of Solicitation

Hello,

My name is Jiwon Yoo and I am a doctoral student in the Counseling Psychology Ph.D. program in the Department of Professional Psychology and Family Therapy, in the College of Education and Human Services, at Seton Hall University.

You are invited to participate in a study that looks at how families talk about race. The study involves two interviews. The first interview will take 60-90 minutes. The second interview will take 20-30 minutes.

To qualify for this study, you must:

1. be an adult (18 and older) parent of East Asian origins (i.e., China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea) living in the United States.
2. serve as a main caregiver for at least one child, aged five to eight.
3. be a second generation East Asian American (i.e., you were born in the United States to parents who were born in East Asian countries).
4. share the same race and ethnic culture with your child(ren) and your parents (e.g., you as Korean American were raised by Korean-born parents and now raise a Korean American child(ren)).

Participants whose main caregiver was not their parent (e.g., you were raised by your grandparents) will be excluded from the study.

If you are interested in participating, you will first fill out a survey. The survey will ask you about your age and gender, etc. You will then do a first interview with me in person or online based on your preference. At the first interview, I will ask you questions about how you have talked about race with your child(ren) as well as with your parents. At the second interview, I will ask you to share your thoughts after your first interview. The second interview will be done within two months of the first interview. The interviews will be videotaped. I will put the interviews into a written form and share it with you. This is to make sure your experience is well represented.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may skip any questions that you do not want to answer. You may choose to stop the interviews at any point if you want to. There is no penalty for not completing the study.

Because the research study involves interviews, the video-recording will have information about you. However, I will keep the data strictly private. The data will be kept on a memory key with a password. The memory key will be placed in a locked, secure place. The data will be safely stored for at least three years. Only my advisor and I will have access to the data. I may report the study results at public meetings and papers. However, it will be free of any identifying information.

If you finish both interviews, you will get a \$20 Amazon gift card.

Please contact me (Jiwon Yoo; jiwon.yoo@student.shu.edu; 973-275-4822) or my advisor (Minsun Lee, Ph.D.; minsun.lee@shu.edu; 973-275-4822) for more information or questions about the study. Questions about your rights as a research participant may be directed to Dr. Mary Ruzicka, Director of the Institutional Review Board (irb@shu.edu; 973-313-6314).

Please feel free to forward this letter to other individuals who may be interested in participating.

Thank you in advance for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Jiwon Yoo, M.A., Ed.M.
Doctoral Student, Counseling Psychology
Department of Professional Psychology and Family Therapy
Seton Hall University
jiwon.yoo@student.shu.edu

Appendix B



Informed Consent

Researcher's Affiliation

The researcher, Jiwon Yoo, M.A., Ed.M., is a doctoral student in the Counseling Psychology Ph.D. program in the Department of Professional Psychology and Family Therapy, in the College of Education and Human Services, at Seton Hall University.

Purpose of the Study and Estimated Length of Time

This study looks at how East Asian American families talk about race. Participants will be interviewed twice. The first interview will take 60-90 minutes. The second interview will take 20-30 minutes.

Procedures and Instruments

This study will ask participants to fill out a survey. The survey will ask questions about their age and gender, etc. Then, participants will have two interviews with the researcher. The interviews will be either in person or online based on their preference. At the first interview, participants will share how they have talked about race with their child(ren). They will also share how they have talked about race with their parents. At the second interview, participants will be asked about their thoughts after their first interview. The second interview will be done within two months of the first interview. The interviews will be videotaped. The researcher will put the interviews into a written form and share it with the participant. It is to make sure that his or her experience is well represented. The researcher will share findings with the participant to hear his or her thoughts about it.

Voluntary Nature of Participation

Participants may skip any questions that they do not want to answer. They may choose to stop the interviews at any point if they want to. There is no penalty for not completing the study.

Anonymity & Confidentiality

Because the study involves interviews, the video-recording will have identifying information about participants. However, the researcher will keep the data strictly private. The data will be kept on a memory key with a password. The memory key will be placed in a locked, secure place. The data will be safely stored for at least three years. Only the researcher and her advisor

will have access to the data. The researcher may report the study results at public meetings and papers. However, the results will be free of any identifying information.

Risks

Being in this study will bring participants very little harm. However, if participants wish to receive emotional support after participating in the study, they may contact the American Psychological Association at 1-800-964-2000 or visit the Psychologist Locator at <http://locator.apa.org/> to find a psychologist.

Benefits

There are no direct benefits to participating in the interviews. However, participants may benefit by knowing what is learned from the research.

Compensation

If participants finish both interviews, they will get a \$20 Amazon gift card.

Contact Information

Please contact the researcher (Jiwon Yoo; jiwon.yoo@student.shu.edu; 973-275-4822) or her advisor (Minsun Lee, Ph.D.; minsun.lee@shu.edu; 973-275-4822) for more information or question about the study. Questions about the rights of research participants may be directed to Dr. Mary Ruzicka, Director of the Institutional Review Board (irb@shu.edu; 973-313-6314).

By signing this form, participants are agreeing to participate in the study and agreeing to video recording of their two interviews. Please mail the signed Informed Consent Form and completed Demographic Questionnaire using the self-addressed stamped envelope provided by the researcher. Participants will get a copy of the signed and dated Informed Consent Form.

Participant Signature

Date

Appendix C

Pre-Interview Questionnaire

1. Are you a person of Asian descent (i.e., East Asian, Southeast Asian, and South Asian), currently living in the United States?
2. Do you currently serve as a primary caregiver for at least one child, aged five to eight?
3. Are you a U.S-born child of immigrant parents?
4. Are your child(ren) and parents of the same race and ethnicity as you?
5. Please let me know your contact information (i.e., email address and phone number) and your availability for the interview. The interview will take approximately 60-90 minutes.

Appendix D

Email Script to Ineligible Participants

Dear ____,

Thank you for your interest in my study about how families talk about race. I also thank you for taking time to answer my questions about your qualification for the study. However, I'm afraid you are not qualified for this study. I'm looking for second generation East Asian American parents. These parents must serve as main caregivers of child(ren) aged five to eight. And they must share the same race and ethnic culture with their child(ren) and their parents.

This study is to look at the unique parenting experiences of a very small and specific group. I hope you understand.

Thank you again for your interest in this study. Please let me know if you have any questions.

Regards,

Jiwon Yoo, M.A., Ed.M.
Doctoral Student, Counseling Psychology
Department of Professional Psychology and Family Therapy
Seton Hall University
jiwon.yoo@student.shu.edu

Appendix E

Demographic Profile Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions with the answer that best describes you. This information will remain confidential, along with the rest of your survey responses, and will only be used to describe the sample as a group.

1. What is your gender? _____
2. Please identify your cultural/ethnic heritage (e.g., Chinese, Korean, Indian, etc.):

3. What is your religious/spiritual affiliation? _____
4. What is your age? _____
5. How many children do you currently provide care for? _____
6. How old are your children? Please indicate the age of each child. _____
7. Which of the following best describes the area in which you reside?

☐ Urban ☐ Suburban ☐ Rural
8. Which of the following best describes the region in which you reside?

☐ West
☐ Midwest
☐ South/Southwest
☐ Northeast
☐ Other (Please identify: _____)
9. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

☐ Less than high school

- ☐ High school / GED
- ☐ Some college but did not finish
- ☐ 2-year college Degree (Associate's)
- ☐ 4-year College Degree
- ☐ Master's Degree
- ☐ Doctoral Degree (Ph.D., Ed.D., etc.)
- ☐ Professional Degree (J.D., M.D., etc.)

10. What is your current occupation? _____

11. What is your total annual household income? Total annual household income includes the total income of everyone in your household.

- ☐ None
- ☐ Less than \$10,000
- ☐ \$10,000-\$24,999
- ☐ \$25,000-\$49,999
- ☐ \$50,000-\$74,999
- ☐ \$75,000-\$99,999
- ☐ \$100,000-\$149,999
- ☐ More than \$150,000

12. What is the primary language you speak with your child? _____

13. What is your current relationship status?

- ☐ Married and residing with a spouse
- ☐ Married and residing separately from a spouse
- ☐ Unmarried and residing with a partner
- ☐ Unmarried and residing separately from a partner
- ☐ Single, not dating anyone

Appendix F

Semi-Structured Individual Interview Protocol (Initial Interview)

1. Tell me about your family's immigration history.
2. How do you identify yourself in terms of race and ethnicity?
3. In your daily life, how much do you think about race and culture?
4. Tell me about a time in your life when your race and culture was significant.
5. What are some messages you have received from your parents about race (your race and races other than your own)?
 - a. Can you give me an example of a time you received a message related to race?
 - b. What do you think made you and your family (not) bring up race in your family?
6. What are some messages you have received from your parents about ethnic culture (your ethnic culture and other ethnic cultures)?
 - a. Can you give me an example of a time you received a message related to ethnic culture?
 - b. What do you think made you and your family (not) bring up ethnic cultures in your family?
7. What messages have you conveyed to your child about race (your own race and races other than your own)?
 - a. What made you (i.e. situations, contexts, feelings) bring up race to your child?
 - b. Can you give an example of a time you conveyed a message about race to your child?
8. What messages have you conveyed to your child about ethnic culture (your ethnic culture and other ethnic cultures)?

- a. What made you (i.e. situations, contexts, feelings) bring up ethnic culture to your child?
 - b. Can you give an example of a time you conveyed a message regarding ethnic culture to your child?
9. Can you tell me about a time when race was involved (in a situation or in the context that you wanted to discuss with your child), but you didn't talk about it with your child?
- a. What are some things (i.e. situations, contexts, feelings) that influenced your not-talking about race with your child?
10. Can you tell me about a time when your ethnic culture was involved (in a situation or in the context that you wanted to discuss with your child), but you didn't talk about it with your child?
- a. What are some things (i.e. situations, contexts, feelings) that influenced your not-talking about your ethnic culture with your child?
11. When you think about the messages your parents gave to you about race and ethnic culture, how are they different or similar to the messages you give to your child about race and culture?
- a. How much do you think your experience with your parents has influenced how you talk to your child about race?
12. Reflecting upon the interview questions, what thoughts and feelings emerged for you?
- Please let me know if there is anything else that you would like to share with me about your experiences of race and ethnicity-related messages in your family.

Appendix G

Follow-up Interview Protocol

1. What were your reactions to the first individual interview?
2. Is there anything that you forgot to mention during the interview?
3. Is there anything that has happened since the interview related to race or ethnic culture that has been salient for you since the interview? (Tell me about that.)
4. Have you conveyed any messages to your child regarding race and ethnicity since the interview? (Tell me about that.)

Appendix H



January 31, 2018

Jiwon Yoo
[Redacted Address]

Dear Ms. Yoo,

The Seton Hall University Institutional Review Board has reviewed and approved as submitted under expedited review your research proposal entitled "A Qualitative Exploration of East Asian American Parents' Racial-Ethnic Socialization Practices: A Phenomenological Approach". The IRB reserves the right to recall the proposal at any time for full review.

Enclosed for your records are the signed Request for Approval form and the stamped original Consent Form. Make copies only of this stamped Consent Form.

The Institutional Review Board approval of your research is valid for a one-year period from the date of this letter. During this time, any changes to the research protocol must be reviewed and approved by the IRB prior to their implementation.

According to federal regulations, continuing review of already approved research is mandated to take place at least 12 months after this initial approval. You will receive communication from the IRB Office for this several months before the anniversary date of your initial approval.

Thank you for your cooperation.

In harmony with federal regulations, none of the investigators or research staff involved in the study took part in the final decision.

Sincerely,

Mary F. Ruzicka, Ph.D.
Professor
Director, Institutional Review Board

cc: Dr. Minsun Lee

Office of Institutional Review Board
Presidents Hall • 400 South Orange Avenue • South Orange, NJ 07079 • Tel: 973.313.6314 • Fax: 973.275.2361 • www.shu.edu

A HOME FOR THE MIND, THE HEART AND THE SPIRIT